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LATE ANTIQUITY AND EARLY ISLAM

11

THE EARLIEST BIOGRAPHIES OF
THE PROPHET AND THEIR
AUTHORS

JOSEF HOROVITZ

EDITED BY

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PREFACE

THIS WORK is part of a collaboration between the Darwin Press and the Magnes Press to render the scholarship of Josef Horovitz on early Islamic history and historiography more widely available, both to students unfamiliar with German, the language in which many of Horovitz' studies were written, and to colleagues in adjacent fields who have not previously encountered his work. Originally the project envisaged one volume containing all of the selected essays, but the present study was so much larger and so dominated the collection that in the end it was decided to publish it separately, with its own index and bibliography.

The origins of my own involvement with this work go back to 1974, when the late C.K. Zurayk, my first teacher in Western and Islamic historiography, suggested, *inter alia*, that I read everything I could find by Horovitz to prepare for the comprehensive examinations for my MA in the History Department at the American University of Beirut. Some years later I was again reminded of the study's importance when I was translating A.A. Duri's *The Rise of Historical Writing among the Arabs*, which frequently refers to it. Notes and corrections gradually accumulated on my own copy of the text, and later the progress of the Late Antiquity and Early Islam project, which seeks to establish broader bases for communication among the various distinct fields involved in the study of this period, suggested that perhaps it would be worthwhile to proceed further with this material. Issues that arose in the course of this work are discussed below in the Editor's Introduction.

I would like to express my thanks, in the first instance, to the Horovitz family, and especially to Professor Menachem Horovitz, for authorising and encouraging this project. I am also grateful, as always, to Darwin Press and its Managing Director, Ed Breisacher, for their unfailing confidence in and support of an unrepentently scholarly enterprise at a time when commercial considerations reign supreme in academic publishing. Mark Conrad keyboarded the text, and users of the index will immediately recognise the fine work of Barbara Hird, registered indexer of the Society of Indexers. I

am grateful to Dr. Karin Hörner for her comments on my Editor's Introduction. My thanks also to the various libraries that have generously made their resources and expertise available to me, most especially the Institute of the History and Culture of the Middle East at the University of Hamburg and the Oriental Institute, University of Oxford.

Lawrence I. Conrad
University of Hamburg
12 November 2001

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

THIS VOLUME comprises a new edition of *The Earliest Biographies of the Prophet and Their Authors*, a pioneering study on early Islamic historiography relating to the life of Muḥammad¹ written by the German Orientalist Josef Horovitz (1874–1931) and published in four parts in the first two is-

¹Good starting points for this vast subject are GAS, I, 237–302; 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Dūrī, *Nash'at 'ilm al-ta'rikh 'inda l-'arab* (Beirut, 1960), 20–33, 61–117; ed. and trans. Lawrence I. Conrad as *The Rise of Historical Writing among the Arabs* (Princeton, 1983), 20–41, 76–135; Frank E. Peters, "The Quest of the Historical Muḥammad," *IJMES* 23 (1991), 291–315; Uri Rubin, ed., *The Biography of Muḥammad*, in Lawrence I. Conrad, ed., *The Formation of the Classical Islamic World*, IV (Aldershot, 1998); Fred Donner, *Narratives of Islamic Origins: the Beginnings of Islamic Historical Writing* (Princeton, 1998); Lawrence I. Conrad, "Muḥammad, the Prophet" in Julie Scott Meisami and Paul Starkey, eds., *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature* (London and New York, 1998), II, 539–43. Other valuable studies include Theodor Nöldeke, "Die Tradition über das Leben Muhammads," *Der Islam* 5 (1914), 160–70; Rudi Paret, "Das Geschichtsbild Muhammads," *Die Welt als Geschichte* 4 (1957), 214–24; John Wansbrough, *The Sectarian Milieu: Content and Composition of Islamic Salvation History* (London, 1978); Maher Jarrar, *Die Prophetenbiographie im islamischen Spanien: Ein Beitrag zur Überlieferungs- und Redaktionsgeschichte* (Frankfurt am Main, 1989); Tarif Khalidi, *Arabic Historical Thought in the Classical Period* (Cambridge, 1994), 17–48; Uri Rubin, *The Eye of the Beholder: the Life of Muḥammad as Viewed by the Early Muslims (a Textual Analysis)* (Princeton, 1995); Jacqueline Chabbi, "Histoire et tradition sacrée—la biographie impossible de Mahomet," *Arabica* 43 (1996), 189–205; Gregor Schoeler, *Charakter und Authentie der muslimischen Überlieferung über das Leben Mohammeds* (Berlin, 1996); Clinton Bennett, *In Search of Muhammad* (London and New York, 1998), 17–65. Important articles are collected in Toufic Fahd, ed. *La vie du Prophète Mahomet* (Paris, 1983); Harald Motzki, ed., *The Biography of Muḥammad: the Issue of the Sources* (Leiden, 2000); Ibn Warraq, ed., *The Quest for the Historical Muhammad* (Amherst, 2000); Lawrence I. Conrad, ed. *History and Historiography in Early Islamic Times: Studies and Perspectives* (Princeton, forthcoming). Useful bibliographies are available in C.L. Geddes, *An Analytical Guide to the Bibliographies on Islam, Muhammad, and the Koran* (Denver, 1973); Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid, *Mu'jam mā ullifa 'an Rasūl Allāh* (Beirut, 1402/1982); Munawwar Ahmād Anees and Alia N. Athar, *Guide to Sira and Hadith Literature in Western Languages* (London, 1986), 29–203.

sues of the Hyderabad journal *Islamic Culture* in 1927 and 1928.² It is a companion to a second volume, *Studies on Early Islam*, containing article-length essays by the same author. Fuller details on Horovitz' life, career, and general perspectives on his chosen subject are dealt with in the introduction to that volume;³ here my remarks will be limited to some observations on Horovitz' place in the development of the study of early Islamic history and *sīra* historiography within European Orientalism and a few comments on the present edition of his work.

Nineteenth-Century Scholarship on Early Islam

European scholarship on early Islamic history and historiography made important advances in the half century prior to the career of Josef Horovitz. In a pattern reflective of a broad trend toward the professionalisation of Orientalist scholarship, which was centred in Germany and the Netherlands,⁴ studies on the field were increasingly becoming the preserve of professors in the uni-

²Josef Horovitz, "The Earliest Biographies of the Prophet and Their Authors," *IC* 1 (1927), 535–59; 2 (1928), 22–50, 164–82, 495–526.

³There are informative memorial notices on him by Gotthold Weil in *MGWJ* 75 (1931), 321–28, and S.D.F. Goitein in *Der Islam* 22 (1935), 122–27. See also the biographical sketch, with a full list of Horovitz' writings, by Walter J. Fischel and S.D. Goitein, *Joseph Horovitz, 1874–1931* (Jerusalem, 1932); Johann Fück, *Die arabischen Studien in Europa bis in den Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1955), 313–14; Menahem Milson, "The Beginnings of Arabic and Islamic Studies at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem," *Judaism* 45 (1996), 171–73; Hava Lazarus-Yafeh, "The Transplantation of Islamic Studies from Europe to the Yishuv and Israel," in Martin Kramer, ed., *The Jewish Discovery of Islam: Studies in Honor of Bernard Lewis* (Tel Aviv, 1999), 250–53. I have also benefitted from discussions about Horovitz many years ago with the late S.D. Goitein, who had studied with him in Frankfurt. We shared a common interest in early Islamic historiography, and the topic of Horovitz was one of the few guaranteed means of luring the conversation away from his absolutely favourite topic—the Cairo Geniza.

⁴And not, *pace* Edward Said, in Great Britain and France, as argued for personal polemical reasons in his *Orientalism* (London, 1978), e.g. 1, 3–4, 6, 17–18, 19, 105, 130–48, 197. On the role of Germany in the Orientalist study of the Middle East, see Martin Hartmann, "Deutschland und der Islam," *Der Islam* 1 (1910), 72–92; Carl Brockelmann, "Die morgenländischen Studien in Deutschland," *ZDMG* 76 (1922), 1–17; Fück, *Die arabischen Studien in Europa*, 44–47, 90–94, 239–45; Rudi Paret, *Arabistik und Islamkunde an deutschen Universitäten. Deutsche Orientalisten seit Theodor Nöldeke* (Wiesbaden, 1966), esp. 9–48, for the period before the 1930s; Josef van Ess, "From Wellhausen to Becker: the Emergence of *Kulturgeschichte* in Islamic Studies," in Malcolm H. Kerr, ed., *Islamic Studies: a Tradition and Its Problems* (Malibu, 1980), 27–51; Fritz Steppat, "Der Beitrag der deutschen Orientalistik zum Verständnis des Islam," *Zeitschrift für Kulturaustausch* 35 (1985), 386–90; Baber Johansen, "Politics and Scholarship: the Development of Islamic

versities. Research was primarily of a philological and textual orientation, largely but not entirely due to the decisive role played by one scholar, H.L. Fleischer (1801–88), who took up the chair of Semitic studies at Leipzig in 1835 and remained there for more than 50 years. Fleischer was a major force behind the foundation of the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft in 1845, and he trained three generations of students who went on to teach all over Europe and certainly dominated the study of the Middle East in Germany.⁵ It would be accurate but unfair to say that he was a scholar with no ability for synthesis:⁶ though the texts whose study Fleischer encouraged and promoted so decisively were historical and cultural documents, history was only an emerging discipline in European universities anyway, "Kulturgeschichte" was unknown until the last decade of his life, and Fleischer never claimed to be anything other than a philologist. For example, when a group of Orientalists led by the renowned R.P.A. Dozy (1820–83) in Leiden⁷ edited the *Nafḥ al-tib* of al-Maqqarī (d. 1041/1631), a text of enormous importance to the political, social, religious, and cultural history of al-Andalus,⁸ Dozy's subsequent public discussion of the book with Fleischer was limited to textual matters only and produced a 280-page "letter" full of emendations and philological comments.⁹

Orientalist scholarship on history and historiography likewise tended to be largely philological, in that new research appeared when the publication

Studies in the Federal Republic of Germany," in Tareq Ismael, ed., *Middle East Studies: International Perspectives on the State of the Art* (New York, 1990), 71–130. On the study of the Middle East in the Netherlands, see Fück, *Die arabischen Studien in Europa*, 79–84, 181–83, 211–16, 325–27; J. Brugman and F. Schröder, *Arabic Studies in the Netherlands* (Leiden, 1979), 34–47; Willem Otterspeer, ed., *Leiden Oriental Connections, 1850–1940* (Leiden, 1989), 1–113.

⁵On his career and influence, see Fück, *Die arabischen Studien in Europa*, 170–72; Paret, *Arabistik und Islamkunde*, 8–9; van Ess, "From Wellhausen to Becker," 39; Johansen, "Politics and Scholarship," 77–79.

⁶Van Ess, "From Wellhausen to Becker," 39.

⁷On him see M.J. de Goeje, *Biographie de Reinhart Dozy*, trans. Victor Chauvin (Leiden, 1883); Fück, *Die arabischen Studien in Europa*, 181–85; Brugman and Schröder, *Arabic Studies in the Netherlands*, 36–39; J. Brugman, "Dozy: a Scholarly Life According to Plan," in Otterspeer, ed., *Leiden Oriental Connections*, 62–81.

⁸Al-Makkarī, *Nafḥ al-tib min ghuṣn al-Andalus al-raṭīb* (Analectes sur l'histoire et la littérature des arabes d'Espagne), ed. R.P.A. Dozy, Gustave Dugat, Ludolf Krehl, and William Wright (Leiden, 1855–61), in two volumes.

⁹R.P.A. Dozy, *Lettre à M. Fleischer contenant des remarques critiques et explicatives sur le texte d'al-Makkarī* (Leiden, 1871).

of a crucial new source—most frequently a text edition—provided an opportunity for such work, and was often primarily, though not always exclusively, based on that source.¹⁰ The Dutch Arabist M.J. de Goeje (1836–1909), successor to Dozy in Leiden, is a prominent case in point.¹¹ His work on an edition of the history of the Arab conquests by al-Balādhurī (d. 279/892)¹² led to his important essay on the conquests themselves;¹³ the publication by William Nassau Lees (1825–99) of the compilation on the conquests in Syria by al-Azdī (fl. ca. 190/805),¹⁴ which sharply conflicted in content and spirit with al-Balādhurī, obliged de Goeje to consider historiographical issues in greater detail;¹⁵ the great Leiden project, led by de Goeje himself, to edit the universal history of al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923)¹⁶ also encouraged him to undertake a major revision of his conquests essay.¹⁷ Julius Wellhausen (1844–1918), professor at various universities before he assumed the chair at Göttingen in 1891, likewise produced important works emerging from or prompted by the publication of al-Ṭabarī's history and primarily based upon

¹⁰This was quite typical of the European study of history at the time. See Edward Hallett Carr, *What Is History?* (New York, 1961), 5–7; Karl-Georg Faber, *Theorie der Geschichtswissenschaft*, 5th ed. (Munich, 1982), 10–13.

¹¹See Clement Huart, "Michael Jan de Goeje," *JA*, 10e Série, 14 (1909), 191–96; Fück, *Die arabischen Studien in Europa*, 211–16; Brugman and Schröder, *Arabic Studies in the Netherlands*, 39–41; E. van Donzel, "M.J. de Goeje," *Al-ʿUṣūr al-wuṣṭā* 6.2 (October 1994), 47–49.

¹²Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān* (Liber expugnationis regionum), ed. M.J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1866).

¹³M.J. de Goeje, *Mémoire sur la conquête de la Syrie* (Leiden, 1864).

¹⁴Al-Azdī, *Futūḥ al-Shām* (The Fotooh al-Shām, Being an Account of the Moslem Conquests in Syria), ed. William Nassau Lees (Calcutta, 1853–54).

¹⁵M.J. de Goeje, *Mémoire sur le Fotouho's-Schām attribué à Abou Ismaïl al-Baṣri* (Leiden, 1864). More recently, see this writer's "Al-Azdī's History of the Arab Conquests in Bilād al-Shām: Some Historiographical Considerations," in Muhammad Adnan Bakhit, ed., *Proceedings of the Second Symposium on the History of Bilād al-Shām During the Early Islamic Period Up to 40 A.H./640 A.D.*, English and French papers (Amman, 1987), I, 28–62; and Suleiman Mourad, "On Early Islamic Historiography: Abū Ismāʿīl al-Azdī and his *Futūḥ al-Shām*," *JAOS* 120 (2000), 577–93. Both of us reject de Goeje's argument for the text as a product of the Crusader period and agree on its early date, though we differ on other important points.

¹⁶Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh al-rusul wa-l-mulūk* (Annales quos scripsit Abu Djafar Mohammed ibn Djarir at-Ṭabarī), ed. M.J. de Goeje et al. in fifteen volumes (Leiden, 1879–1901). See Franz-Christoph Muth, *Die Annalen von at-Ṭabarī im Spiegel der europäischen Bearbeitungen* (Frankfurt am Main, 1983).

¹⁷The outcome of this confrontation was M.J. de Goeje, *Mémoire sur la conquête de la Syrie*, 2nd ed. (Leiden, 1900).

it;¹⁸ his prolegomena to the history of the period of the Rāshidūn caliphs was a brilliant mélange of historical and historiographical vignettes emerging almost entirely from a reading of al-Ṭabarī,¹⁹ and his history of the Umayyads was a critical reconstruction of the history of the dynasty that emerges from that source.²⁰ Even the survey of historical writers by Ferdinand Wüstenfeld (1808–99), a vital first step toward determining "who was who" in medieval Arabic historical writing,²¹ was a work springing from a single crucial source, the Ottoman bibliographical survey by Ḥājji Khalīfa (d. 1067/1657).²² That the time was not yet ripe for such a work is perhaps to be seen in the fact that very large numbers of the authors included by Wüstenfeld were not "historical writers", however important their works may be for purposes of historical research, but rather were litterateurs and scholars of *ḥadīth*.

These themes of gradual professionalisation, focus of scholarship upon central primary texts, and immature and inadequate research methodologies were all brought into sharp focus in the area of *sīra* historiography, that field of emergent Arabic and Islamic studies devoted to the critical evaluation of the sources bearing on the life of the prophet Muḥammad. It of course took no particular genius to see that this subject was central to the study of Islam more generally, yet clearly it could not be approached in the same way that so many other topics were handled. On the one hand, there was no central text, but rather many, and texts of different kinds: the Qurʾān itself, Qurʾānic exegesis (*tafsīr*), the biographies and other related *sīra* materials on the life of Muḥammad (e.g. his merits, or *shamāʾil*, and the proofs that he was a prophet, the *dalāʾil al-nubūwa*), and the sayings of the Prophet

¹⁸On him see C.H. Becker, "Julius Wellhausen," *Der Islam* 9 (1919), 95–99; Fück, *Die arabischen Studien in Europa*, 223–26; Paret, *Arabistik und Islamkunde*, 15–16; Lothar Perlitt, *Vatke und Wellhausen* (Berlin, 1965); Rudolf Smend, "Julius Wellhausen," in Martin Greschat, ed., *Theologen des Protestantismus im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart, 1978), I, 166–80; van Ess, "From Wellhausen to Becker," 40–43; Kurt Rudolph, *Wellhausen als Arabist* (Berlin, 1983).

¹⁹Julius Wellhausen, "Prolegomena zur ältesten Geschichte des Islams," in his *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, VI (Berlin, 1899), 1–160; cf. Wellhausen's introduction, iii, where this point is explicitly conceded.

²⁰*Idem*, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz* (Berlin, 1902); trans. Margaret Graham Weir, *The Arab Kingdom and Its Fall* (Calcutta, 1927).

²¹Ferdinand Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtschreiber der Araber und ihre Werke* (Göttingen, 1882). On him see Fück, *Die arabischen Studien in Europa*, 193–94.

²²Ḥājji Khalīfa, *Kashf al-zunūn ʿan asāmī l-kutub wa-l-funūn* (Lexicon bibliographicum et encyclopaedicum), ed. with Latin translation in seven volumes by Gustav Flügel (Leipzig and London, 1835–58).

and other early Muslims renowned for their piety (*ḥadīth*), to say nothing of such other genres as poetry and literature, where many references to the life and times of Muḥammad also appeared. On the other hand, this material as a whole confronted scholars with the task of coming to terms with extremely difficult methodological issues. Clearly Islamic literary tradition, as in any long-established culture, contained much that was false, exaggerated, or legendary. This had not been a tremendous problem for European scholarship prior to the nineteenth century, when literary, polemical or political merit could endow a work of history with truth value equal to or greater than what could be gained through more dispassionate investigation of the past, and when the authorial intuition of a prestigious writer seemed sufficient compensation for the absence of rigorous methodology. But the first decades of the nineteenth century comprised precisely the period when new systematic methodologies were being developed, and Orientalist scholarship, itself a new emerging field in an academic sense, was thus challenged to establish its own specific methodologies in order to deal with historiographical issues, not least of all where the life and career of Muḥammad were concerned.

As in so many other areas, the pioneering work in this field emerged primarily among German scholars. Though his work is seldom read today, or even readily accessible, Gustav Weil (1808–89) was a and perhaps *the* central figure in these developments.²³ A Jewish student from a rabbinical family steeped in Talmudic education, he took up history, theology and Arabic in Heidelberg, then went to Paris, where he studied Arabic further with A. Perron (1805–76). After spending five years in Algiers, Cairo and Istanbul, where he gained further linguistic expertise while working as a journalist and French instructor, he returned to Heidelberg and finished his *Habilitationschrift* in 1836. As so often occurred in those times, he found employment in the university library and spent decades without a regular professorial position. It was only in 1861, at the age of 53, that he gained the chair of Oriental languages in Heidelberg.

Weil's career was dedicated to the study of Islamic history, which he pursued in new ways and, heavily influenced by the example of Leopold von Ranke (1795–1886), in a far more critical manner than had been typical of earlier times. His first work relevant to *sīra* studies was an investigation

²³On him see Fück, *Die arabischen Studien in Europa*, 175–76; Paret, *Arabistik und Islamkunde*, 10; Martin Kramer, "Introduction" to *The Jewish Discovery of Islam*, 12.

of early Arabic poetry,²⁴ but far more significant was his *Muhammed der Prophet. Sein Leben und seine Lehre* (Stuttgart, 1843), in which he sought to establish a firm historical framework for the *sīra*. His aim was not to dismiss or disparage, but rather to treat Muḥammad as a personality who had played an enormous role in history and thus deserved serious historical attention. For information he consulted the Arabic sources themselves, most of which were still in manuscript. Though he did gain access to and use the still-unpublished *Sīra* of Ibn Ishāq (d. 151/761) in the recension of Ibn Hishām (d. 218/834),²⁵ an early work of fundamental importance, most of the texts he consulted were late works that provided a wealth of information in summary form—for example, the *Insān al-ʿuyūn* (= *Al-Sīra al-ḥalabīya*) by ʿAlī ibn Burhān al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī (d. 1044/1635). Though such texts were attractive to Orientalists of Weil's day and on through the early twentieth century, eventually these books were largely superseded as key sources and Weil's heavy reliance upon them came to argue against continued recourse to his work. But the example he set was an important one, and within a year it was pursued by a further volume in which he studied the Qurʾān as a historical source and established criteria for the chronological classification of clusters of verses or entire *sūras*, with the aim of facilitating use of the Qurʾān as a basis for reconstructing history.²⁶

A further important step was taken by Aloys Sprenger (1813–93), a Tyrolian physician and antiquarian who spent most of his career in India, and whose collection, study, and publication of Arabic manuscripts were major contributions to Orientalist scholarship.²⁷ His extensive knowledge of sources led him to compose an English-language introduction to the *sīra* under the misleading title of *The Life of Mohammad*,²⁸ followed nearly a decade later by a three-volume biography in German.²⁹ In the former work he refers to very early transmitters of *sīra* traditions, but names Ibn Ishāq as "the first

²⁴Gustav Weil, *Die poetische Literatur der Araber vor und unmittelbar nach Mohammed. Eine historisch-kritische Skizze* (Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1837).

²⁵Weil prepared a German translation within a few years of the publication of the Arabic text; see his *Das Leben Mohammed's nach Mohammed ibn Ishak, bearb. von Abd el-Malik ibn Hisham* (Stuttgart, 1864), in two volumes.

²⁶Gustav Weil, *Historisch-kritische Einleitung in den Koran* (Bielefeld, 1844). A revised second edition appeared in 1870.

²⁷See August Haflner, *Aloys Sprenger. Ein Tiroler Orientalist* (Innsbruck, 1913); Fück, *Die arabischen Studien in Europa*, 176–79; Paret, *Arabistik und Islamkunde*, 11–12.

²⁸See Aloys Sprenger, *The Life of Mohammad from Original Sources* (Allahabad, 1851).

²⁹*Idem*, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammad* (Berlin, 1861–65).

author of a biography of Moḥammad". There were earlier written records, he claims, but not books on this subject.³⁰ In the German-language biography this is more or less repeated, with extensive details on transmitters whom Sprenger identified as major *sīra* authorities.³¹ By the mid-nineteenth century, then, a vision of successive generations of early Muslim scholars was beginning to emerge.

A few years after Sprenger's work his English rival William Muir (1819–1905) explored historiographical issues in depth in his own four-volume life of Muḥammad.³² The first volume of this work includes a historiographical introduction of more than 100 pages considering the relationship between Qur'ān, *ḥadīth*, and *sīra*, and comparing their relative worth as historical sources.³³ This analysis ends with an account of medieval Arabic biographies of Muḥammad.³⁴ Muir held that there was no written historical tradition at all in Islam until the end of the first century AH; at the same time, however, he believed that written tradition developed very rapidly and named al-Zuhri (d. 124/742) as the pioneer in this area.

Sprenger and Muir became involved in controversy over their differences on such points, and references to the conflict were still to be found a hundred years later. The issues in question were vital ones—how could one write about the life of an individual without first determining the nature of the sources for such a study and discovering how reliably they had been transmitted subsequently? In their own time, however, the dispute between Sprenger and Muir was soon overshadowed by increasing awareness that while the work of both marked significant advances over what Weil had been able to do only a decade or two earlier, both still frequently relied on late texts and neither yet had either the methodologies or the sufficient grasp of the sources required to engage in a decisive critique of the origins or development of the *sīra* tradition. Though able to appreciate basic problems, the field was unable to marshal the expertise required to solve them. Thus both Sprenger and Muir could be highly critical when discussing historiographical issues, while failing to apply much of this when it came to writing about the actual life of Muḥammad. Both simply retold the story found in Ibn Hishām from a

³⁰Sprenger, *Life of Mohammad*, 63–74.

³¹Sprenger, *Leben und Lehre*, III, liv–lxxvii.

³²Sir William Muir, *The Life of Mahomet and History of Islam to the Era of the Hegira* (London, 1858–61). On him see Fück, *Die arabischen Studien in Europa*, 180–81.

³³Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, I, i–cv.

³⁴*Ibid.*, I, lxxxvii–cv.

more Western perspective, with additions from other sources to fill in details not provided by Ibn Hishām.

A further important step forward was taken by Wüstenfeld, in this case with his *editio princeps* of Ibn Hishām, which he provided with an important introduction.³⁵ From this there emerged a basic framework of transmitters and teachers—mainly Medinans and later Iraqis—who dealt with the life of the prophet Muḥammad; and as this tradition could be traced back into the middle third of the first century AH/mid-seventh century AD, it was clear—as had been anticipated by Sprenger and Muir in any case—that the origins and development of historical tradition among the Muslims were to be found in the history of scholarship on Muḥammad's prophetic career and related topics. A basic prosopographical outline of who had taught, studied, and written on the *sīra*, in other words, could now be adopted from Ibn Hishām and taken to other sources in search of further information bearing on historiographical issues. August Fischer (1865–1949) was the first to pursue this at length.³⁶ Following up on Wüstenfeld's contribution, Fischer collected additional rich biographical details on the authorities cited by Ibn Ishāq from several unedited biographical dictionaries and published them in two studies in 1890.³⁷ But this was a contribution of new source material rather than a critique of that material, much less of early Islamic literary tradition as a whole.

The obstacles reflected in the work of this period were simple ones. Until late in the century the Arabic literary tradition was very poorly known. Untold thousands of manuscripts survived from the medieval period, and through the nineteenth century Arabic manuscripts continued to flow into Europe in large numbers, the long collecting career of Sprenger being just one example of many that could be cited.³⁸ But many collections remained

³⁵Ibn Hishām, *Sīrat Rasūl Allāh* (Das Leben Mohammeds), ed. Ferdinand Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1858–60), II, i–lxxii.

³⁶Johann Fück, "August Fischer (1865–1949)," *ZDMG* 100 (1950), 1–18; *idem*, *Die arabischen Studien in Europa*, 309–12.

³⁷August Fischer, *Biographien von Gewährsmännern des Ibn Ishāq, hauptsächlich aus ad-Dahabī* (Leiden, 1890); *idem*, "Neue Auszüge aus ad-Dahabī und Ibn an-Naǧǧār," *ZDMG* 44 (1890), 401–44.

³⁸See Fück, *Die arabischen Studien in Europa*, 189–91. The extremely important collection of Berlin, to be discussed presently, was built up largely on the basis of purchase or donation of personal collections assembled by nineteenth-century German academics or diplomatic representatives travelling or working in the Islamic world. See, for example, Paret, *Arabistik und Islamkunde*, 11, 43; Hars Kurio, *Arabische Handschriften der*

uncatalogued, and there was no easy way to discover whether a given text was extant and where it might be found. Orientalists were thus heavily dependent upon each other for details about the manuscripts and books to which colleagues had more immediate access, and their often-voluminous correspondence is full of discussion of such matters.³⁹ But this academic grapevine, a relic from a simpler age, could not transmit or organise information on the scale necessary for the sort of detailed work that was required, and indeed, even such a basic framework for regular contacts as the Congrès International des Orientalistes did not appear until 1873. And so long as even key works remained unpublished it was difficult to establish the structure of medieval Arabic literary culture, in terms of who had studied with whom and how works were related to one another, or to address or even identify other key historiographical questions. It was, in fact, precisely for this reason that a concentration on matters of philology made such sense to the Orientalists of the nineteenth century. In an obituary for de Goeje, an English colleague states this very clearly:

The record of the explorations of Oriental history and literature teems with uncorrected errors, false deductions, hasty and premature generalisations. For these, with the few and imperfect texts available, the writers to whom they are due are not severely to be blamed. But De Goeje felt that before any great edifice could be planned and built it was necessary to supply better material, and to this his activity throughout his life was devoted.⁴⁰

Decisive improvements on issues of access were not registered until near the end of the century. It was then that Wilhelm Ahlwardt (1828–1909) published his magnificent ten-volume *Verzeichniss* of the Arabic manuscripts in the Kaiser's royal library in Berlin, a catalogue—the labour of more than 20 years—that not only provided detailed information on more than 10,000

³⁹"*Bibliotheca orientalis Sprengeriana*" in *der Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin. Historische und quantitative Untersuchungen an der Sammlung des Islamhistorikers Sprenger (1813–1893). Die Abteilungen Geschichte, Geographie und Ḥadīṭ* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1981).

³⁹Hence the advice of one eminent Orientalist to an aspiring student: "If you want to prosper in life... answer every letter or card you receive, even if your answer be negative." See Joseph de Somogyi, "My Reminiscences of Ignace Goldziher," *MW* 51 (1961), 9.

⁴⁰C.J. Lyall, *JRAS*, 1911, 846.

works, but also included important research on medieval Arabic literary tradition more generally.⁴¹ Ahlwardt's work was soon to gain an even greater importance, for it was based on this example that Carl Brockelmann (1868–1956), at the turn of the century and at the very beginning of Horowitz's career, compiled the first edition of his bibliographical guide to all of pre-modern Arabic literature:⁴² only then did researchers have broad systematic (if not entirely accurate) access to information about medieval Arabic authors and their works.

In the later years of the century there was, nevertheless, progress toward a more integrative approach. The leader here was the Hungarian Ignaz Goldziher (1850–1921), an intellectual of formidable range and talent and the scholar acknowledged, to an extent even in his own day, as the founder of the modern field of Islamic studies.⁴³ Secretary to the Neolog Jewish community of Budapest and for much of his career excluded from the university establishment by anti-Semitism, Goldziher in 1889 and 1890 published the two volumes of his *Muhammedanische Studien*, a work on various Islamic themes that utilised sources across the entire range of medieval Islamic literary tradition to trace out the development of thinking on major socio-cultural questions.⁴⁴ The novelty of what Goldziher was doing was such that even

⁴¹Wilhelm Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniss der arabischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin* (Berlin, 1887–99), Volume IX dedicated to history and historiography; see IX, 110a–193a nos. 9510–9647, on Muhammad. On Ahlwardt see Fück, *Die arabischen Studien in Europa*, 191–92; Paret, *Arabistik und Islamkunde*, 43–44; Jaroslav Stetkevych, "Arabic Poetry and Assorted Poetics," in Kerr, ed., *Islamic Studies*, 111–18.

⁴²Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur* (Weimar, 1898–1902), in two volumes. A supplement of three volumes was published (Leiden, 1936–42), and the two original volumes were then revised and republished in a second edition (Leiden, 1943–49), this reversal of priorities being dictated by copyright considerations. See Johann Fück, "Carl Brockelmann (1868–1956)," *ZDMG* 108 (1958), 1–13; Paret, *Arabistik und Islamkunde*, 21–22.

⁴³See Fück, *Die arabischen Studien in Europa*, 226–33; Jean-Jacques Waardenburg, *L'Islam dans le miroir de l'occident*, 3rd rev. ed. (Paris and the Hague, 1962), index; Róbert Simon, *Ignác Goldziher: His Life and Scholarship as Reflected in His Works and Correspondence* (Leiden and Budapest, 1986), 13–76; Lawrence I. Conrad, "The Dervish's Disciple: On the Personality and Intellectual Milieu of the Young Ignaz Goldziher," *JRAS*, 1990, 225–66; *idem*, "The Pilgrim from Pest: Goldziher's Study Tour to the Near East (1873–1874)," in Ian Richard Netton, ed., *Golden Roads: Migration, Pilgrimage and Travel in Mediaeval and Modern Islam* (London, 1993), 110–59; *idem*, "Ignaz Goldziher on Ernest Renan: From Orientalist Philology to the Study of Islam," in Kramer, ed., *The Jewish Discovery of Islam*, 137–80.

⁴⁴Ignaz Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien* (Halle, 1889–90); ed. and trans. S.M.

his eminent colleague Theodor Nöldeke (1836–1930) conceded that he would never have dared to review this work had he not felt that others were no less unprepared for the appearance of such a book and equally unqualified to assess it.⁴⁵

Nöldeke himself was the doyen of Arabic studies in Germany.⁴⁶ Trained as a student in Semitic philology, through his career he made important contributions to this field with studies on comparative Semitics and grammars of Arabic, Mandaic, and Syriac. Works of a more historical nature were often of the traditional sort, based on a single key source: on the one hand, studies of the Qur'ān,⁴⁷ the *Alexander Romance*,⁴⁸ and the *Shāhnāmeh*,⁴⁹ and on the other, a translation of the material from al-Ṭabarī on pre-Islamic Arab history and relations with the Byzantines and Sasanids in which long detailed notes provided valuable historical commentary based on a wealth of Arabic and other sources.⁵⁰ But at times Nöldeke as well sought to adopt a broader historical view, as is evident in such work as his volume of essays—an early endeavour—on ancient Arabic poetry.⁵¹

Horovitz and *Sīra* Historiography

It was into this intellectual world that Josef Horovitz and other Orientalists of his generation stepped. Of Hungarian descent, Horovitz was born in

Stern and C.R. Barber, *Muslim Studies* (London, 1967–71). It is not widely known that this work comprises a major revision of the first three chapters of an earlier tentative work of Goldziher's in Hungarian: his *Az Iszlám. Tanulmányok a muhammedán vallás története köréből* (Budapest, 1881).

⁴⁵See Nöldeke's review in *WZKM* 5 (1891), 43.

⁴⁶See E. Kuhn, "Versuch einer Übersicht der Schriften Theodor Nöldeke's," in Carl Bezold, ed., *Orientalische Studien Theodor Nöldeke zum siebzigsten Geburtstag* (2. März 1906) gewidmet von Freunden und Schülern (Giessen, 1906), I, xiii–li; C. Snouck Hurgronje, "Theodor Nöldeke. 2 März 1836–25 Dezember 1930," *ZDMG* 85 (1931), 239–81; Fück, *Die arabischen Studien in Europa*, 217–20; Paret, *Arabistik und Islamkunde*, 13–15; Hartmut Fähndrich, "Invariable Factors Underlying the Historical Perspective in Theodor Nöldeke's *Orientalische Skizzen*," in Albert Dietrich, ed., *Akten des VII. Kongresses für Arabistik und Islamwissenschaft* (Göttingen, 1976), 146–54.

⁴⁷Theodor Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qorāns* (Göttingen, 1860); 2nd ed. by Friedrich Schwally and later Gotthelf Bergsträsser and Otto Pretzl (Leipzig, 1909–38). Cf. Fück, *Die arabischen Studien in Europa*, 217–18.

⁴⁸*Idem*, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Alexanderromans* (Vienna, 1890).

⁴⁹*Idem*, *Das iranische Nationalepos* (Strassburg, 1896); 2nd ed. (Berlin and Leipzig, 1920); trans. Leonid T. Bogdanov, *The Iranian National Epic* (Bombay, 1930).

⁵⁰*Idem*, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden* (Leiden, 1879).

⁵¹*Idem*, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Poesie der alten Araber* (Hannover, 1864).

Lauenburg on the lower Elbe in Prussia in 1874 and was raised in Frankfurt; his father Markus Horovitz (1844–1910) had been a prominent figure in the Jewish Orthodox hierarchy in Hungary and was called to serve as a rabbi in Lauenburg and then Frankfurt in the wake of Reform gains against the Orthodox in Germany. His son Josef took up the study of Semitic languages with Eduard Sachau (1845–1930)⁵² at the Seminar für orientalische Sprachen in Berlin⁵³ and was quickly attracted to early Islamic historiography by his teacher's role as editor-in-chief of the project to edit the great biographical dictionary of Ibn Sa'd (d. 230/844), the *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*.⁵⁴ His first undertaking was a Ph.D. dissertation on the *Kitāb al-maghāzī* of al-Wāqidī (d. 207/823), the teacher of Ibn Sa'd and a compiler whose *Maghāzī*—his only extant work—was important to the Ibn Sa'd editorial project. The subject was a challenging one. The Arabic text was available to Horovitz only in the form of a difficult and late manuscript tradition and an old outdated edition of the first third of the book,⁵⁵ and despite its importance the work had hitherto gained only limited attention in modern scholarship: some far outdated comments by Alfred von Kremer (1828–89), the editor of the incomplete Arabic text,⁵⁶ and then soon thereafter by Muir,⁵⁷ a brief entry in the

⁵²On Sachau, who was a student of August Dillmann (1823–94), Nöldeke and Fleischer, see Fück, *Die arabischen Studien in Europa*, 234–36; Paret, *Arabistik und Islamkunde*, 18, 24. His works are conveniently listed in Gotthold Weil, "Die Schriften Eduard Sachaus," in Weil, ed., *Festschrift Eduard Sachau zum siebzigsten Geburtstag gewidmet von Freunden und Schülern* (Berlin, 1915), 1–14.

⁵³On the origins and early development of the "Berlin school" initiated by Sachau, see Eugen Mittwoch, "Das Seminar für orientalische Sprachen an der Universität zu Berlin," in *Weltpolitische Bildungarbeit an Preussischen Hochschulen. Festschrift für C.H. Becker* (Berlin, 1926), 12–23.

⁵⁴Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr* (Biographien Muhammeds, seiner Gefährten und der späteren Träger des Islams bis zum Jahre 230 der Flucht), ed. Eduard Sachau *et al.* (Leiden, 1904–40). The eight volumes of the Arabic text were published between 1904 and 1918. The indices were compiled by Sachau; two instalments were published before his death in 1930, and a third was seen through the press by his student Walther Gottschalk in 1940. The vitally important index of persons appearing in the *isnāds*, however, referred to by Horovitz below, 71 n. 25, was never printed.

⁵⁵Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-maghāzī* (History of Muhammad's Campaigns), ed. Alfred von Kremer (Calcutta, 1856). As Horovitz notes below (113 n. 106), the last part of this edition (from 360:18) is from another work; Wellhausen (al-Wāqidī/Wellhausen, 5) characterizes this extra material as "a worthless appendix designed to give an impression of completeness".

⁵⁶*Op. cit.*, 4–11.

⁵⁷Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, I, xcv–c.

guide by Wüstenfeld to Arabic historical writers,⁵⁸ and the introduction by Wellhausen to his abbreviated German translation of the book.⁵⁹ Horovitz' study, submitted for his degree in 1898, was a modest 48-page dissertation in Latin that critically assessed al-Wāqidī as a scholar and his history of Muḥammad's campaigns as a historical source, with attention to such issues as the relation of his *Maghāzī* to other works, the transmission of his source materials, and the ideological and historiographical inclinations of al-Wāqidī himself.⁶⁰

Though a piece of considerable importance in its time, Horovitz' dissertation was quickly overshadowed by the Ibn Sa'd project itself. An early thought for Horovitz to edit the *Kitāb al-maghāzī* was abandoned. Wellhausen had himself considered an edition and in fact made some progress on it in conjunction with his German abridgement, but eventually he gave up the project,⁶¹ which then passed to Fischer in Leipzig.⁶² Horovitz thus turned instead to Ibn Sa'd—so here one sees again, at least at the outset of his career, the importance of a single key text. Sachau assigned his student the task of editing Volume III.2, on the Medinan veterans of Badr, a project that Horovitz executed to a high standard; his editor's introduction reveals his continuing interest in historiographical issues.⁶³ As further volumes of Ibn Sa'd were published, al-Wāqidī became less of a priority: the former's work, a far larger book, covered all of the Prophet's lifetime and provided important accounts of the careers and lives of early Muslims from the origins of Islam up to Ibn Sa'd's own time, while al-Wāqidī's text dealt only with Muḥammad's military campaigns, on which information was already available in other works.

The ongoing Ibn Sa'd project in Berlin, combined with the recently completed Leiden-based al-Ṭabarī project, served to give European scholars a clearer view of the structure of pedagogy and intellectual life in early Islamic times, and likewise, to provide them with an enormous corpus of detail on the participants in these cultural activities. This material improved vastly

⁵⁸Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtschreiber*, 11–14 no. 43.

⁵⁹Julius Wellhausen, *Muhammad in Medina, das ist Vakidi's Kitāb al-Maghāzī in verkürzter deutscher Wiedergabe* (Berlin, 1882), 11–26.

⁶⁰Josef Horovitz, *De Wāqidī libro qui Kitāb al-Maghāzī inscribitur* (Berlin, 1898); English trans. in *SEI*, Chap. 1.

⁶¹See Wāqidī/Wellhausen, 10–11, 20.

⁶²See Horovitz, *De Wāqidī libro*, 2; also below, 113.

⁶³Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III.2, v–vii.

on the earlier corpus of evidence on *sīra* historiography available from Ibn Hishām and the additional detailed materials collected by Fischer. In his introduction to Volume III.1 of Ibn Sa'd, published as the inaugural volume of the project in 1904, Sachau briefly sketched out an account of the main authorities through whom Ibn Sa'd had derived the materials that appear in his *Ṭabaqāt*.⁶⁴ The same year witnessed the publication of a long article in which Sachau used his access to the rich Arabic manuscript resources of Berlin to collect a rich corpus of information—probably inspired by Fischer's example—on transmitters and authorities from unpublished biographical dictionaries.⁶⁵

But important as these works were at the time, they suffered from a common weakness in that they simply collected information about separate individuals. The data was not critiqued to any significant extent, and little attempt was made to extract from it any overall picture of the development of early Islamic historical writing about the Prophet Muḥammad or to raise and resolve historiographical issues. Sachau's important collection of new material, for example, was in historiographical terms more significant for an understanding of the structure of the *al-jarḥ wa-l-ta'dīl* literature than it was for elucidating the *sīra* tradition itself.⁶⁶

After taking his Ph.D. in 1898 Horovitz remained in Berlin not only to collaborate with Sachau on the Ibn Sa'd project, but also to write his Habilitationsschrift, likewise under Sachau's direction. This work, bearing the title “Die älteste geschichtliche Literatur der Araber” (“The Oldest Historical Literature of the Arabs”), was completed in 1904. The pressure of other work distracted Horovitz, however, and allowed this study to go unpublished. Such time as was available to him in the short term was consumed by work on his edition of the Ibn Sa'd volume assigned to him as a student, and when that was completed and published in 1904 Sachau assigned him another volume, II.1 on the campaigns of Muḥammad, a perfect topic for Horovitz. This was published in 1909, and in its brief preface his comments once again reflect his historiographical interests in the broad issues involved in the critique and reconstruction of early Islamic history.⁶⁷

⁶⁴Eduard Sachau, “Einleitung” to his edition of Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, III.1 (Leiden, 1904), v–xxix.

⁶⁵*Idem*, “Studien zur ältesten Geschichtsüberlieferung der Araber,” *MSOS* 7 (1904), 154–96.

⁶⁶*Ibid.*, 195–96.

⁶⁷Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II.1, v–viii.

But Horovitz' commitment to this subject was broadly conceived, and his other work in this period reflects this. He was keenly interested in the potential of early Arabic poetry as a historical source, and as a student he prepared his *editio princeps* of the eulogy and praise poems on the Prophet's family by the late Umayyad poet al-Kumayt (d. 127/744).⁶⁸ His similarly broad interest in the culture of late antiquity and early Islam is evident in his research on the Ethiopic version of the *Book of Maccabees*,⁶⁹ and in a study of Greek influences on medieval Middle Eastern theatre and shadow plays, a still-important work in which he drew upon rich materials from other traditions, especially that of Syriac Christianity.⁷⁰ In 1905–1906 Horovitz accompanied the Italian Orientalist and prince of Teano (later Duke of Sermoneta) Leone Caetani (1869–1935)⁷¹ on a trip through the Near East to search for Arabic manuscripts and gain firsthand insights into the topographical aspects of the Arab conquests in Palestine.⁷² The former endeavour produced a detailed survey by Horovitz of Arabic historical manuscripts in the libraries of Cairo, Damascus, and Istanbul,⁷³ while the results of the latter were incorporated into Caetani's massive annalistic study of early Islamic history.⁷⁴

⁶⁸Josef Horovitz, ed. and trans., *Die Hāsimijjāt des Kumait* (Leiden, 1904); important review by Nöldeke in *ZDMG* 58 (1904), 888–903.

⁶⁹*Idem*, "Das äthiopische Maccabäerbuch," *ZA* 19 (1905), 194–233.

⁷⁰*Idem*, *Spuren griechischer Mimen im Orient* (Berlin, 1905).

⁷¹Cf. Lucien Bouvat, "La prince Caetani et son oeuvre," *RMM* 27 (1914), 53–89; Michelangelo Guidi, "Commemorazione di Leone Caetani," *Rendiconti della R. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, Serie sesta, 12 (1936), 99–104; Fück, *Die arabischen Studien in Europa*, 297–99.

⁷²There was a certain tradition for this sort of travel among Orientalists of this age; see Fück, *Die arabischen Studien in Europa*, 197–99. One common reason for these journeys was that the Orientalists' spoken command of Middle East languages, almost always gained from texts and their European tutors, was inevitably very bookish and artificial and therefore stood to benefit from exposure to the natural use of Arabic, Persian or Turkish by native speakers. On the Near Eastern travels of Horovitz' teacher, by whose example he was at least partly inspired, see Eduard Sachau, *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien* (Leipzig, 1883). On the other hand, it is worth bearing in mind that in Germany Orientalists were seldom gentleman-scholars, but were rather from modest backgrounds and often lacked the resources for the high costs of journeys to the Near East. See van Ess, "From Wellhausen to Becker," 29.

⁷³Josef Horovitz, "Aus den Bibliotheken von Kairo, Damaskus und Konstantinopel (Arabische Handschriften geschichtlichen Inhalts)," *MSOS* 10 (1907), 1–68.

⁷⁴Cf. Leone Caetani, *Annali dell'Islam* (Milan, 1905–26), II, 1203 §402 n. 1a (AH 12); III, 34 §23 (AH 13), 508 §18 (AH 15); IV, 482 §41 n. 1 (AH 21). The sections relating topography to the sources were by Horovitz, as also were the fine photographs.

In 1907 Horovitz proceeded to India to take up a position at the Anglo-Mohammedan Oriental College in Aligarh, and then in 1909 a concurrent post as Government Epigraphist for Moslem Inscriptions, which resulted in several volumes on Islamic inscriptions in the subcontinent.⁷⁵ The outbreak of the First World War, however, brought Horovitz' Indian sojourn to an end; he was obliged to return to Germany, and from 1915 to the end of his life he taught at the University of Frankfurt, where he took up the professorship of Semitic studies in 1920.

His return to Germany marked a vigorous revival of his historiographical research: a study on the growth of legendary aspects of the *sīra* tradition was published in 1914,⁷⁶ followed by groundbreaking articles on the antiquity and origins of the *isnād*,⁷⁷ on Salmān al-Fārisī as an example of a personality whose biography is almost entirely fictitious,⁷⁸ on Biblical influences on the *sīra*,⁷⁹ and on the use of poetry in the *sīra*.⁸⁰ A return to his Habilitationsschrift was perhaps to be expected, but in the event was encouraged by the confluence of two decisive influences. On the one hand, his work was read and its publication insisted upon by two of his best students, who themselves were later to make major contributions to early Islamic history and historiography: S.D.F. Goitein (1900–88), later an editor of the *Ansāb al-ashrāf* of al-Balādhurī, and then Johann Fück (1894–1974), who wrote an important Ph.D. dissertation with Horovitz on Ibn Ishāq.⁸¹ On the other, back in India the Nizām of Hyderabad decided to lend his patronage to the foundation of a new journal on Islamic studies, to be entitled *Islamic Culture*, that would publish English articles of a high academic standard and religiously acceptable to Muslims. As editor the editorial board chose the English novelist,

⁷⁵Josef Horovitz, ed., *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* (Calcutta, 1912–14).

⁷⁶*Idem*, "Zur Muḥammadlegende," *Der Islam* 5 (1914), 41–53; English trans. in *SEI*, Chap. 2.

⁷⁷*Idem*, "Alter und Ursprung des Isnād," *Der Islam* 8 (1918), 39–47; English trans. in *SEI*, Chap. 3.

⁷⁸*Idem*, "Salmān al-Fārisī," *Der Islam* 12 (1922), 178–83; English trans. in *SEI*, Chap. 7.

⁷⁹*Idem*, "Biblische Nachwirkungen in der Sīra," *Der Islam* 12 (1922), 184–89; 13 (1923), 189; English trans. in *SEI*, Chap. 5.

⁸⁰*Idem*, "Die poetischen Einlagen der Sīra," *Islamica* 2 (1926–27), 308–12; English trans. in *SEI*, Chap. 9.

⁸¹Johann Fück, *Muḥammad ibn Ishāq. Literarhistorische Untersuchungen* (Frankfurt am Main, 1925). On the students of Horovitz, see Paret, *Arabistik und Islamkunde*, 24–25.

journalist, and convert to Islam Marmaduke Pickthall (1875–1936), whom Horovitz may have met in India.⁸² Pickthall sought to enlist the support of European scholars for the journal, and Horovitz agreed to give him a revised version of his *Habilitationsschrift*. The German text was translated into English by Pickthall himself,⁸³ and was published in four instalments under the title of *The Earliest Biographies of the Prophet and Their Authors*.

The original German text appears not to have been preserved after publication of the English version, but while the loss is to be regretted for reasons to be discussed below, the version of 1904 was without doubt thoroughly revised before submission to Pickthall for translation. Some of Horovitz' articles on *sīra* historiography published beginning in 1914 may have been extracted from or based upon the *Habilitationsschrift*, and the English version shows that materials from numerous more recently published sources had been incorporated. Ibn Sa'd was an especially important addition, most notably for Horovitz' account of al-Wāqidī, the mentor of Ibn Sa'd. The author's enthusiasm for early Arabic poetry is reflected in his use of such recently published works as the recension by Abū 'Ubayda (d. 211/826) of the *naqā'id* poems of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq, edited by A.A. Bevan (1859–1934),⁸⁴ and the collection by al-Jumāhī (d. 231/845) of biographies of poets, edited by Joseph Hell (1875–1950).⁸⁵ He cites the 1922 edition by Charles C. Torrey (1863–1956) of the work by Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam (d. 257/870) on the conquest of Egypt,⁸⁶ as also the above-mentioned 1925 study of Ibn Ishāq by Fück, Horovitz' student. Space was also found for at least a mention, probably added at the last moment, of the index of *ḥadīth* compiled by A.J. Wensinck (1882–1939) in Leiden.⁸⁷ To all appearances, then, *Earliest Biographies* was

⁸²On the career of Pickthall see the useful study of Peter Clark, *Marmaduke Pickthall: British Muslim* (London, 1986). Other accounts include Ann Jackson Fremantle, *Loyal Enemy* (London, 1938); Kemal Kahraman, *Muhammad M. Pickthall: bir İngiliz yazarın müslüman olarak portresi* (Istanbul, 1994).

⁸³*IC* 1 (1927), 535; 2 (1928), 22, 164, 495. These notes have not been reproduced in this edition.

⁸⁴Abū 'Ubayda, *Naqā'id Jarīr wa-l-Farazdaq* (The *Naqā'id* of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq), ed. in 3 volumes by Anthony Ashley Bevan (Leiden, 1905–12).

⁸⁵Al-Jumāhī, *Ṭabaqāt fuḥūl al-shu'arā'* (Die Klassen der Dichter), ed. Joseph Hell (Leiden, 1916).

⁸⁶Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr wa-akhbārūhā* (The History of the Conquest of Egypt, North Africa and Spain, Known as the *Futūḥ Miṣr*, of Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam), ed. Charles Cutler Torrey (New Haven, 1922).

⁸⁷A.J. Wensinck, ed., *Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition* (Leiden, 1927).

not simply a translation of a far older work "dusted off" for publication, but rather was a thoroughly revised study representing the conclusions and opinions of its author near the end of his life.

The basic thesis of Horovitz' study is that written transmission of material about the life of the Prophet can be traced back to the generation of the *tābi'un*, those Muslims who had known Companions of the Prophet, but had never been associated with Muḥammad himself. This pool of transmitted material then made its way into various kinds of literature: collections of the sayings and deeds of Muḥammad and the early Muslims (*ḥadīth*), works on aspects of the Prophet's life (*sīra*), and Qur'ānic exegesis (*tafsīr*). Horovitz' aim is to trace the development of the *sīra* branch of this literature: identifying thirteen personalities whom he characterizes as "authors", he proceeds to describe the life and career of each of them as fully as possible on the basis of the sources available to him. In the time of Wellhausen, as we have seen, it had been perfectly acceptable to write early Islamic history more or less based on a single crucial source, in Wellhausen's case the newly edited history of al-Ṭabarī. Horovitz, however, pursued a more integrative approach in which a broad range of sources would be consulted, and thus, presumably, more secure and more nuanced historical conclusions be achieved. Most prominent here is his recourse to poetry. Ignoring the doubts raised by Ahlwardt and others concerning the reliability of ancient Arabic poetry,⁸⁸ he does not hesitate to make judicious use of verse and the prose accounts that provided its context. Such an attitude quite rightly views the individuals under investigation not just as collectors and transmitters of history, but rather as representatives of a broader literary culture. Likewise, he was correct in reasoning that valuable old accounts could as easily have made their way into commentary on poetry as into, say, the more specifically historical works of Ibn Sa'd and al-Ṭabarī.⁸⁹ This attitude toward sources was of course not unique to Horovitz among the Orientalist studies on early Islam that were ap-

⁸⁸Wilhelm Ahlwardt, *Bemerkungen über die Ächtheit der alten arabischen Gedichte* (Greifswald, 1872). On this still-controversial subject cf. 'Abd al-Raḥmān Badawī, ed., *Dirāsāt al-mustashriqīn ḥawla ṣiḥḥat al-shi'r al-jāhili* (Beirut, 1979), and the valuable study of a different sort by Albert Arazī, *La réalité et la fiction dans la poésie arabe ancienne* (Paris, 1989).

⁸⁹This attitude was already evident in Orientalist editions of Arabic poetical works, in which very large numbers of sources were searched for parallel or identical passages. Editions by such scholars as Barth, Bevan, Geyer, Krenkow, and Lyall could routinely involve the deployment of 50 such sources, and sometimes over 100. Horovitz, himself an editor of early Arabic poetry, was of course quite familiar with this literature.

pearing in the early twentieth century. One sees it just as clearly in the work of, for example, the Belgian Jesuit scholar Henri Lammens (1862–1937),⁹⁰ who taught at the Université Saint-Joseph in Beirut and wrote extensively on pre-Islamic Arabia, Muḥammad, and the early caliphate.⁹¹

On the basis of the picture that emerges from these accounts Horovitz describes a process of continuous transmission of *sīra* tradition from within a generation of the death of Muḥammad himself, with close associations to the study and transmission of *ḥadīth*. Especially interesting here is the point that Horovitz never specifically states his argument and in fact seldom refers to controversies in his field over this view and others, while in other publications he does not hesitate to engage in disputes with colleagues with whom he disagrees. It is also to be noted that while elsewhere he displays a full and able command of the modern literature on his subject and seeks to integrate it into his own discussion, here such research is more often of tacit influence and is seldom specifically mentioned, if at all. Omission of such authors as Muir and Sprenger would have been understandable; Muir was basically a Christian apologist and Sprenger's work was often quite weak even for its time.⁹² More curious, however, is Horovitz's silence on Hubert Grimme (1864–1942), a leading authority on ancient Semitic epigraphy whose work on Muḥammad, if posing its own problems, Horovitz nevertheless used elsewhere and clearly respected.⁹³ The theories of Lammens on the relationship between *sīra*, *ḥadīth*, and the Qur'ān, though tainted by their author's well-known prejudice against Islam, were a direct challenge to Horovitz, and it is surprising that he says nothing about them.⁹⁴ He also remains silent on the

⁹⁰Especially in his work on the Umayyads; e.g. his "Études sur le règne du calife omayyade Mo'āwia Ier," *MUSJ* 1 (1906), 1–108; 2 (1907), 1–172; 3 (1908), 145–315.

⁹¹On Lammens see Lucien Bouvat, "L'oeuvre du P. Lammens," *RMM* 27 (1914), 90–140; Giorgio Levi della Vida, "Le père Henri Lammens," *Byzantion* 12 (1937), 701–708; "In memoriam: le père Henri Lammens, 1862–1937, notice et bibliographie," *MUSJ* 21 (1938), 335–55; Fück, *Die arabischen Studien in Europa*, 292–93; K.S. Salibi, "Islam and Syria in the Writings of Henri Lammens," in Bernard Lewis and P.M. Holt, eds., *Historians of the Middle East* (London, 1962), 330–42.

⁹²Cf. the criticisms of the latter in Wāqidi/Wellhausen, 24–26; seconded by Paret, *Arabistik und Islamkunde*, 11–12.

⁹³Hubert Grimme, *Mohammed* (Münster, 1892–95) in two volumes; the first dealt with the life of Muḥammad, the second with the teachings of the Qur'ān. Cf. Franz Taeschner, "Hubert Grimme. Ein Nachruf," *ZDMG* 96 (1942), 381–92; Fück, *Die arabischen Studien in Europa*, 317; Paret, *Arabistik und Islamkunde*, 24.

⁹⁴Lammens had a complete manuscript of a massive work on the life and times of Muḥammad and *sīra* historiography ready for press in 1914, but the outbreak of the

important critique of Lammens' formulations by C.H. Becker (1876–1933).⁹⁵ Similarly, Wellhausen's theory of "schools" of historical writing in early Islam was of obvious relevance to Horovitz' work on *sīra* historiography, but here he allows himself to be drawn hardly at all.⁹⁶ His attention is without doubt sharply focused on the primary sources available to him, and it may well be that he expected the historiographical picture he was sketching to speak for itself. Still, his reticence on the state of research in the field in his own day makes *Earliest Biographies* something of an anomaly within the Horovitz opera.

In its English form Horovitz' work was to comprise the foundation for the understanding of *sīra* historiography among Western scholars through much of the twentieth century. His study was the basis for the presentation of early Islamic historiography by H.A.R. Gibb (1895–1971), whose survey of medieval Islamic historical writing was for decades regarded as a more or less definitive account.⁹⁷ It was also very influential in the important work of Nabia Abbott (1897–1982) on early Arabic historical papyri.⁹⁸ Speaking very favourably of Horovitz, Abbott regarded her own research as decisive confirmation of his interpretations.⁹⁹ After the Second World War, at a time of rising national and cultural consciousness in the Arab world, *Earliest Biographies* was translated into Arabic and hence gained wider circulation among Arab scholars.¹⁰⁰ Its most important impact was effected through the doyen of Arab historians, 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Dūrī (1916–), whose account

First World War discouraged its publication. Various parts had in any case already been extracted, expanded and published separately, including the following studies: "Qoran et tradition: comment fut composée la vie de Mahomet," *RSR* 1 (1910), 27–51; "Mahomet fut-il sincère?," *RSR* 2 (1911), 25–53, 140–66; "L'âge de Mahomet et la chronologie de la Sira," *JA*, 10e Série, 17 (1911), 209–50; *Fāṭima et les filles de Mahomet: notes critiques pour l'étude de la Sira* (Rome, 1912).

⁹⁵C.H. Becker, "Prinzipielles zu Lammens' Sīrastudien," *Der Islam* 4 (1913), 261–69; repr. as "Grundsätzliches zur Leben-Muhammad-Forschung," in his *Islamstudien* (1924–32), I, 520–27. On Becker's academic career, see Hellmut Ritter, "Carl Heinrich Becker als Orientalist," *Der Islam* 24 (1937), 175–85; Erich Wende, *C.H. Becker, Mensch und Politiker. Ein biographischer Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte der Weimar Republik* (Stuttgart, 1959), 19–35.

⁹⁶Below, 40, 114.

⁹⁷H.A.R. Gibb, art. "Ta'rikh" in *EI* 1, Supplement (Leiden, 1938), 235a–b.

⁹⁸Nabia Abbott, *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri*, I: *Historical Texts* (Chicago, 1957), 5–31.

⁹⁹*Ibid.*, 6, 15, 17, 26.

¹⁰⁰*Al-Maghāzī al-ūlā wa-mu'allifūhā*, trans. Ḥusayn Naṣṣār (Cairo, 1369/1949).

of early Islamic historiography marked the first great overall synthesis on the subject, using the new perspectives and sources that had emerged since Horovitz' time to broaden his predecessor's account of specific *sīra* authors into a comprehensive description of early Islamic historiography as an intellectual and cultural tradition.¹⁰¹ When al-Dūrī's study was translated by this editor nearly 20 years ago, the importance of Horovitz' contributions, as pursued and elaborated by Gibb and then by al-Dūrī, was once again highlighted.¹⁰²

The basic thesis of continuous transmission of *sīra* tradition from a very early date remains a controversial proposition, not least of all because practically all of early Islamic historiography is fraught with controversy. But one must bear in mind that Horovitz did not claim that an early starting point for the transmission of accounts comprised a guarantee of the historical accuracy of those accounts, much less justified faith in the accuracy of early historical tradition as a whole. Indeed, his famous essay on Salmān al-Fārisī demonstrated how an almost entirely fictitious "biography" of a leading Companion of the Prophet could emerge and flourish regardless of the antiquity of the tradition of transmission itself.¹⁰³ It would take another four decades, however, before plausible scenarios explaining such developments in *sīra* historiography began to emerge.¹⁰⁴ That said, Horovitz' work finds important support in current scholarship in early Islamic historiography that not only argues for the continuous transmission of reports concerning the Prophet from an early date, as Horovitz did, but also upholds the accuracy of these reports and their place within a coherent tradition that may be traced back to a very early origin. One may cite here—to name just a few examples of the most stimulating work—the research of Michael Lecker and Gregor Schoeler on *sīra* historiography¹⁰⁵ and the studies of Harald Motzki

¹⁰¹ Al-Dūrī, *Nash'at 'ilm al-ta'rikh 'inda l-'arab*.

¹⁰² Dūrī, *The Rise of Historical Writing among the Arabs*. I should like to take this belated opportunity to acknowledge Professor Roy P. Mottahedeh, now at Harvard but then one of my teachers at Princeton, who drew the attention of Princeton University Press to al-Dūrī's book, argued for its inclusion in the "Modern Classics in Near Eastern Studies" series, and gave me the opportunity to undertake the translation.

¹⁰³ Horovitz, "Salmān al-Fārisī," 178–83.

¹⁰⁴ Important in this respect, but under-appreciated even today, was Rudolf Sellheim, "Prophet, Chalif, und Geschichte. Die Muhammed-Biographie des Ibn Ishāq," *Oriens* 18–19 (1965–66), 33–91.

¹⁰⁵ Michael Lecker, "The Death of the Prophet Muḥammad's Father: Did Wāqidi Invent Some of the Evidence?," *ZDMG* 145 (1995), 9–27; *idem*, "Wāqidi's Account of the Status

on the origins of early Islamic law and the character and critique of the *ḥadīth* literature.¹⁰⁶

Horovitz has also been important for his influence on attitudes toward sources. His commitment to wide reading in primary literature echoes in the work of his student Goitein, whose 1936 edition of Volume V of al-Balādhurī's *Ansāb al-ashrāf* brought to bear, in a way that had no precedents in the editing of Arabic historical texts, a vast range of sources from which parallels to al-Balādhurī's accounts were sought.¹⁰⁷ Goitein's student M.J. Kister (1914–) has pursued this agenda even further in a career-long series of important articles characterized by exploitation of a vast range of sources, and a similar commitment to extremely broad reading in the sources is typical of a new generation of Israeli and Palestinian scholars trained by Kister.¹⁰⁸ Over the past 20 years this example has been widely emulated elsewhere and now comprises something very close to an academic standard in the field of early Islamic studies.

Most of the personalities discussed in *Earliest Biographies* have proven to be fully as important as Horovitz considered them to be, and it must be borne in mind that his stated subject is not historical tradition as such, but rather, and more precisely, specific individuals whom he regarded as "authors". Scholarship has of course moved on, and new methodologies and sources have made it possible—indeed, essential—to look at the subject in ways that would have been impossible in Horovitz' time. For example, important early Syrian sources were still largely unknown in those days,¹⁰⁹ and the massive *Ta'rikh madīnat Dimashq* by the Damascene com-

of the Jews of Medina: a Study of a Combined Report," *JNES* 54 (1995), 15–32; Schoeler, *Charakter und Authentie*.

¹⁰⁶ Most particularly Harald Motzki, *Die Anfänge der islamischen Jurisprudenz. Ihre Entwicklung in Mekka bis zur Mitte des 2./8. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, 1991), pursued subsequently in many valuable articles.

¹⁰⁷ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, V, ed. S.D.F. Goitein (Jerusalem, 1936).

¹⁰⁸ Most of Kister's articles have been republished in a series of important volumes in the Variorum "Collected Studies" series: *Studies in Jāhiliyya and Early Islam* (London, 1980); *Society and Religion from Jāhiliyya to Islam* (Aldershot, 1990); *Concepts and Ideas at the Dawn of Islam* (Aldershot, 1997).

¹⁰⁹ One thinks here primarily of Abū Zur'a al-Dimashqī (d. 280/893), *Ta'rikh*, ed. Shukr Allāh ibn Ni'mat Allāh al-Qūchānī in two volumes (Damascus, 1400/1980); al-Fasawī (d. 277/890), *Al-Ma'rifa wa-l-ta'rikh*, ed. Akram Ḍiyā' al-'Umārī in three volumes (Baghdad, 1974). The latter was, as his name indicates, from the city of Fasā in Iran, but he spent many years in Syria and thus had ready access to Syrian historical tradition, as is in any case clear from the materials he cited.

piller Ibn 'Asākir (d. 571/1176), only now completely published (in 80 volumes) as the present work goes to press,¹¹⁰ was accessible to few scholars in Europe.¹¹¹ Horovitz' study thus takes no account of early Muslim transmitters and scholars from Syria, such as al-Walīd ibn Muslim (d. 195/810)¹¹² and Muḥammad ibn 'Ā'idh (d. 233/847),¹¹³ who were active in *sīra* studies and whose works were used mainly outside the Medinan–Iraqi tradition.¹¹⁴ The much-debated issue of "authenticity" is now appreciated as a far more complex matter than was conceded seven decades ago,¹¹⁵ and the question of authorship and the stability of textual tradition has been pursued in new ways reflecting the vastly superior access that scholars now have to relevant texts.¹¹⁶ The text as a literary production manifesting strategies and narrative techniques that can likewise be traced in other texts or compared with each other to arrive at a pattern of development was also but little appreciated, though such formulations are now widely acknowledged as comprising a research area of great importance.¹¹⁷ The value of the non-Islamic traditions

¹¹⁰Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'riḫ madīnat Dimashq*, ed. 'Umar al-'Amrawī and 'Alī Shīrī (Beirut, 1995–2001).

¹¹¹The first major work to explore the historiographical dimensions of Ibn 'Asākir where early Islamic history is concerned is James E. Lindsay, ed., *Ibn 'Asākir on Early Islamic History* (Princeton, 2002), with a valuable bibliography (134–40) on past research directly addressing him and his work.

¹¹²*GAS*, I, 293 no. 8.

¹¹³*Ibid.*, I, 301 no. 13.

¹¹⁴Sezgin includes further "authors" not mentioned by Horovitz (*ibid.*, I, 275–302); in some cases, however, this is due to Sezgin's greater willingness to see lost works behind the transmission of reports on an individual's authority.

¹¹⁵Most recently, where *sīra* historiography is concerned, in Schoeler, *Charakter und Authentie*. My reservation about such work is that I perceive in it a certain obscurity as to what is meant by "authentic". But that, to be sure, is part of the basic problem and cannot be explored further here.

¹¹⁶See, for example, the works of scholars who in recent years have addressed various dimensions of this issue: Jarrar, *Prophetenbiographie*; Sebastian Günther, *Quellenuntersuchungen zu den "Maqātil at-Ṭālibiyyin" des Abū l-Faraġ al-Iṣfahānī (gest. 356/967). Ein Beitrag zur Problematik der mündlichen und schriftlichen Überlieferung in der mittelalterlichen arabischen Literatur* (Hildesheim, 1991); Stefan Leder, *Das Korpus al-Haiṭam b. 'Adī (st. 207/822). Herkunft, Überlieferung, Gestalt früher Texte der aḥbār Literatur* (Frankfurt am Main, 1991); Andreas Görke, "Das Kitāb al-Amwāl des Abū 'Uбайд al-Qāsim b. Sallām. Entstehung und Werküberlieferung" (Ph.D. dissertation, Universität Hamburg, 2000).

¹¹⁷See, for example, Wansbrough, *The Sectarian Milieu*; Albrecht Noth, *The Early Arabic Historical Tradition: a Source-Critical Study*, 2nd ed. in collaboration with Lawrence I.

was already known, as is evident in several articles by Horovitz himself, but publications of both sources and studies have since added enormously to our knowledge.¹¹⁸

Earliest Biographies is thus very much a product of its time, and specific points will require correction and revision. But Horovitz' portrayal of a continuous process of study and teaching on matters pertaining to the life of Muḥammad on the part of transmitters and scholars beginning in the first century AH remains important, and it is a tribute to the insight of its author that it continues to be such a valuable and informative survey of its subject.

The Present Edition

The editing of Horovitz' text proved to involve certain difficulties. Any reader of this study in its previously published form in *Islamic Culture* will recall the large number of typographical errors, the poor typesetting, and other similar problems. In the course of preparing the text for the present edition, however, it became obvious that the scale and scope of these difficulties were far greater than had first been anticipated, and had much to do with the way in which the study came into print.

What Horovitz submitted to Marmaduke Pickthall was a German typescript, which, as noted above, was translated into English by Pickthall himself. Unfortunately, and as the additional notes to the present edition will demonstrate, the printed text clearly reveals that the editor did not revise or check his translation, but rather sent his first handwritten draft directly to the printer for typesetting. It is obvious that no proofs were provided to Horovitz, or even checked by the journal's editorial staff. Pickthall's handwritten text was simply published as interpreted and formatted by the typesetter.

The result was a text manifesting problems at all levels, beginning with the translation from German into English. Pickthall was an English novelist and journalist who had risen to fame as a result of his personal engagement with the faith of Islam. His exposure to Islam and the Islamic world through reading and travel in the region¹¹⁹ led to his public conversion in 1917, and

Conrad, trans. Michael Bonner (Princeton, 1994).

¹¹⁸See now the important study of Robert Hoyland, *Seeing Islam as Others Saw It: a Study of the Use of Non-Muslim Sources for Early Islamic History* (Princeton, 1996).

¹¹⁹Cf. his account of his travels in his *Oriental Encounters, Palestine and Syria (1894–5–6)* (London, 1918).

his scholarly reputation rested on his translation of the Qur'ān,¹²⁰ recognised already in its own day for its eloquence and sensitivity. But Pickthall was no historian, much less an authority on the life of Muḥammad or the history of early Islamic times;¹²¹ and though possessed of a thorough command of German, at numerous points he has misunderstood Horovitz' meaning and thus has translated out of context. The German "Gemeindeordnung", for example, Wellhausen's term for the Constitution of Medina,¹²² is literally but meaninglessly translated by Pickthall as "Community Regulation".¹²³ The word "Sendungen", meant by Horovitz in the sense of "deputations", is rendered as "edicts".¹²⁴ One also encounters places confirming that Pickthall submitted an unrevised text: in the garbled phrase "no indications only", for example, the last word was replaced by the first without indicating that the last was to be deleted.¹²⁵ Pickthall also seems to be responsible for the often idiosyncratic and in any case inconsistent transliteration of Arabic names, toponyms, and book titles; again one example: A'āsīm for 'Āṣīm in numerous places.

The printer has added a further level of errors, beginning with mistakes best explained as misreadings of a handwritten text. The phrase "in the cause of the Umayyads" becomes "in the sense of the Umayyads",¹²⁶ "400" is reduced to "100",¹²⁷ and a scholar becomes *qāḍī* of "the west side of the cemetery" instead of "the west side of the city" (i.e. of Baghdad).¹²⁸ "Al-Khalīlī" becomes "al-Khatī" and "al-Ruṣāfa" is "Kusafa".¹²⁹ Verses of poetry are sometimes run into the text as prose, and it is not unusual for words, phrases, or parts of names or book titles to be dropped.¹³⁰ One might easily

¹²⁰Marmaduke Pickthall, trans., *The Meaning of the Glorious Koran* (London, 1930).

¹²¹Pickthall did include an account of the life of Muḥammad as an introduction to his Qur'ān translation, but this work is primarily of devotional interest. It has recently been reprinted with an introduction by Khalid Yahya Blankinship, *The Life of the Prophet Muhammad: a Brief History* (Beltsville, Maryland, 1998).

¹²²Julius Wellhausen, "Muhammeds Gemeindeordnung von Medina," in his *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten* (Berlin, 1884-99), IV, 65-83.

¹²³Below, 83 n. 105.

¹²⁴Below, 113 n. 108.

¹²⁵Below, 81 n. 97.

¹²⁶Below, 49 n. 62.

¹²⁷Below, 62 n. 144.

¹²⁸Below, 107 n. 72.

¹²⁹Below, 93 n. 23, 107 n. 69.

¹³⁰Below, e.g., 58 n. 116, 71 n. 29, 76 n. 61, 80 n. 92, 95 n. 32, 105 nn. 59-60, 109 n. 82.

stumble at some notes: "F.B. Ibn Hisham", to cite but one case, represents a conflation of "For example" with "Zum Beispiel". Volume or page numbers, or both, are frequently misprinted. Transliteration marks for the Arabic long vowels, in so far as these had been provided by Pickthall at all, are often dropped, and transliteration for the consonants ḍ, ḥ, ṣ, ṭ, and ẓ is missing entirely. All these kinds of mistakes can be found elsewhere in the journal from one year to the next, and on one occasion Pickthall seems to have resigned himself to this reality with the wry remark: "To the leaflet of Errata we should like to add: 'For Errata read Errata'; but such are the vicissitudes of Indian printing."¹³¹

In a few cases, however, difficulties are posed by Horovitz' ambiguous or obscure notes. References to "Dhahabi" can mean any of several works used by Horovitz in his study. The reference "Muqaddasi 10" refers to a passage from a compendium on transmitters of *ḥadīth* by al-Jammā'īlī (d. 600/1203), a Ḥanbalī scholar from Jammā'īl near Nablus, who owes his *nisba* al-Maqdisī/al-Muqaddasi ("the Jerusalemite") to the fact that his home town and its district were close (one day's travel) to Jerusalem and were administered from there.¹³² The passage is quoted by Sachau in his important collection of data on early Muslim transmitters of reports on the Prophet.¹³³ Horovitz has an offprint from Sachau with an independent page numbering, and hence cites the tenth page in this offprint. In the author's defence it may be noted that such opaque references were quite common in his day; scholars were trained to write for a strictly limited audience of peers who knew the field and its literature and thus would recognise precisely what the author meant.

A further problem was posed by Horovitz' extensive citation of Arabic text. It is likely that in the German typescript submitted to *Islamic Culture* most references to primary sources, including references to very long passages translated into German in the main body of his study, included full verbatim quotation of the relevant passages in the original Arabic. In the English text published in *Islamic Culture* these survive only in Chapters II and IV, perhaps indicating disagreements between the author and publisher over whether these quotations in Arabic should be included. Why Horovitz wanted to provide these quotations is unknown, but probably had

¹³¹IC 5 (1931), 683.

¹³²See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, ed. Ferdinand Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1866-73), II, 113:6-10.

¹³³Sachau, "Studien," 163.

much to do with issues of access. In his Ph.D. dissertation on al-Wāqidi's *Kitāb al-maghāzī*, for example, he frequently cites passages in Arabic, including long ones. These citations were useful since the existing partial edition of the *Maghāzī* was already a rare work and the remaining two thirds of the text existed only in manuscript. For *Earliest Biographies*, published in Hyderabad, a similarly extensive citation of sources in the original Arabic would have been appreciated among Indian readers, many of whom could read Arabic, but very few of whom would have had access to the European text editions Horovitz was citing.

In any case, these citations were ultimately of little use. Apart from the fact that they appeared in only half of Horovitz' study, those that were included were printed in a poor Arabic font with so many errors or other anomalies as to render these quotations, in some cases, practically unreadable. In addition, any reader wishing to check further would have encountered the problem, mentioned above, that so many page or volume references were misprinted. In the present day, when the Arabic texts for early Islamic history are widely available, there seems to be little justification for including these quotations, which are to hand not only in the sources cited but also in Naṣṣār's Arabic translation of *Earliest Biographies*. Quotations of Arabic text have thus been dropped unless essential to the argument; all references have been checked, however, and citations of primary sources have been expanded to specify by page and line the exact passage intended.

Perhaps the most difficult problem that arose in the present edition was arriving at a decision on the extent to which, and with what goal in mind, Horovitz' 1927–28 text should be updated. Despite its continuing importance, his study remains, as we have seen, very much a product of its time. The author himself knew that in fields that were rapidly changing and expanding, old works of scholarship could not maintain any sense of authorial integrity and at the same time comprise an accurate statement of current knowledge of the field and deal adequately with contemporary issues.¹³⁴ Indeed, to attempt such a revision in the case of *Earliest Biographies* would have suggested that the field of early Islamic studies has remained more or less static since the late 1920s, which, as the comments above will hopefully have indicated, is certainly not the case.

¹³⁴Cf. Horovitz' remarks in his review of the 1902 reprint of Abraham Geiger's *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen?* (Bonn, 1833), in *Zeitschrift für hebräische Bibliographie* 6 (1903), 10; also his "Jewish Proper Names and Derivatives in the Koran," *HUCA* 2 (1925), 145.

Here I have attempted to tread a middle ground. Horovitz' text has been reproduced as published in Pickthall's translation for *Islamic Culture*, with the original pagination indicated in the body of the text. Transliteration, which was very irregular in the published English text, has been standardized, and the often rather cryptic notes have been recast into a regular format. The reader's attention has not been drawn to correction of more obvious typographical errors (e.g. Ahlwerdt, Firk and Fûck, Gaetani, Geschichtsuberlieferungder, Ibn Sa-'d, *tas'nif*, Zeitschrift) or to simple and obvious expansions of notes; chapter titles suggestive of the content of each section have also been provided. In all other cases, however, including the many places where references had to be corrected, the revised material is placed in square brackets. Where a more recent edition marks a significant improvement to the state of the text, this information as well has been provided.¹³⁵ There are also places where Horovitz himself offered interpretive additions to his translations, and in this edition these have been distinguished from my own additions by placing them in curly brackets (i.e. { and }). I have also made some additions to the notes to bring into play more of the Syrian source material, which was little known in Horovitz' time, as well as other works that have come to be regarded as sources of major importance. On issues where more recent research needs to be taken into consideration reference has been made to this scholarship in additional notes, also set off within square brackets.

I have not always been able to resist the temptation to indicate places where Horovitz perhaps has erred—or rather, I should say, where differences between our perspectives on the subject are most pronounced. In general, however, my working principle has been that here the editorial hand cannot

¹³⁵Two special cases should be noted here. In the course of work on this edition it became clear that the old Allahabad AH 1324 printing of al-Bukhārī's *Al-Ta'rikh al-ṣaḡhīr* used by Horovitz was exceedingly rare; copies are not to be had, for example, at Hamburg, Princeton, Oxford, or Cambridge. References to this printing have thus been replaced by references to the widely available edition of the late Maḥmūd Zāyid. The *Kitāb al-aghānī* of Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī was cited by Horovitz according to the old Būlāq edition in its original printing of AH 1285 and a reprint of that text with a different pagination. As the first instalment of *Earliest Biographies* appeared in 1927, however, Aḥmad Zakī al-'Adawī and Egyptian colleagues at the Dār al-kutub al-miṣriya published the first volume of a new edition of the book that Horovitz would subsequently use in other studies. As the Dār al-kutub text is far superior (for example, it fills many lacunae), all references to the older Būlāq printings have been replaced. In all such cases the changes are flagged in square brackets.

claim to provide an updating of Horovitz' arguments and conclusions, but can more usefully serve as a vehicle for indicating where more recent work can be found and where Horovitz' own research may most fruitfully be pursued. This will be most obvious at the beginnings of the various accounts of *maghāzī* authorities, where, in bibliographical notes, I have sought to provide some sense of how extensively these individuals were covered in medieval Arabic sources and how they figure in modern scholarly literature. Readers will note, I hope, that there is a rich corpus of modern scholarship in Arabic that is not yet being incorporated into contemporary research to the extent that it deserves.

That said, I am sure that specialised readers will find places where they feel I have missed something of significance or neglected to cite an important work. While conceding the validity of such criticisms I would at the same time plead that one must stop somewhere. My hope is that what has been included will suffice to lead interested readers to the broader corpus of scholarly literature.

Josef Horovitz died young, at the age of 56, and his death passed largely unremarked, except by a few Jewish former students. As Germany slid into the abyss of National Socialism it became increasingly common for the contributions of Jewish academics in all fields, even the deceased, to be disparaged, suppressed, and denied.¹³⁶ It is my hope that this volume will serve as a modest tribute to a scholar whose research on early Islamic historiography contributed much to the foundations for the field as we know it today.

¹³⁶Cf. the case of Goldziher, described in Ludmila Hanisch, "Machen Sie doch unseren Islam nicht gar zu schlecht". Der Briefwechsel der Islamwissenschaftler Ignaz Goldziher und Martin Hartmann, 1894–1914 (Wiesbaden, 2000), xxvi–xxvii.

INTRODUCTION

[535] THERE ARE THREE DOMAINS of Arabic literature, which, as sources for the sayings and doings of the Prophet, have to be considered: *ḥadīth*, *sīra*, and *tafsīr*. The ground-element of all three domains is the individual report, which appears in each of them in the same form, that of a pronouncement (*matn al-ḥadīth*) introduced by a chain of witnesses (*isnād*).¹ In the

¹[Important work on the development of the *isnād* and its evolution as a critical tool had already been done by Leone Caetani in his *Annali dell'Islam* (Milan, 1905–26), I, 29–42 §§10–19 (Introduzione); and a seminal contribution was Horovitz' own "Die Alter und Ursprung des Isnād," *Der Islam* 8 (1918), 39–47, 299; 11 (1921), 264–65 (trans. in *SEI*, Chap. 3). More recent research includes Joseph Schacht, *The Origins of Muhammedan Jurisprudence* (Oxford, 1950), 36–39, 163–79; James Robson, "The Isnād in Muslim Tradition," *Transactions of the Glasgow University Oriental Society* 15 (1955), 15–26; Nabia Abbott, *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri* (Chicago, 1957–72), I, 8–9; II, 5–32; *GAS*, I, 53–84, 237–56; Ursula Sezgin, *Abū Miḥnaf. Ein Beitrag zur Historiographie der umayyadischen Zeit* (Leiden, 1971), 66–95; Mohammad Mustafa Azmi, *Studies in Early Ḥadīth Literature* (Indianapolis, 1978), 212–47; Michael Cook, *Early Muslim Dogma* (Cambridge, 1981), 107–16; G.H.A. Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition: Studies in Chronology, Provenance and Authorship of Early Ḥadīth* (Cambridge, 1983), esp. 9–76; Harald Motzki, *Die Anfänge der islamischen Jurisprudenz. Ihre Entwicklung in Mekka bis zur Mitte des 2./8. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, 1991), esp. 25–49; *idem*, "The *Muṣannaḥ* of 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṣan'ānī as a Source of Authentic *Aḥādīth* of the First Islamic Century," *JNES* 50 (1991), 1–21; Michael Cook, "Eschatology and the Dating of Traditions," *PPNES* 1 (1992), 23–47; Gregor Schoeler, *Charakter und Authentie der muslimischen Überlieferung über das Leben Mohammeds* (Berlin, 1996). The most intensely focused work on *isnāds* is that of Juynboll, the most important of whose many articles are collected in his *Studies on the Origins and Uses of Islamic Ḥadīth* (Aldershot, 1996); of particular importance is his "Early Islamic Society as Reflected in Its Use of *Isnāds*," *Le Muséon* 107 (1994), 151–94. Cf. also Sebastian Günther, *Quellensuntersuchungen zu den "Maqātil at-Ṭālibīyīn" des Abū l-Farağ al-Isfahānī (gest. 356/967). Ein Beitrag zur Problematik der mündlichen und schriftlichen Überlieferung in der mittelalterlichen arabischen Literatur* (Hildesheim, 1991), which pursues issues of how *isnād* patterns reflect the character of the transmitted materials.]

order, however, in which they present the enormous mass of individual reports of which they are composed, the works belonging to the three domains differ from one another. *Ḥadīth* collections arrange them either according to inherent points of view (as is the case with the *muṣannaf* works, to which the six canonical compilations, *al-kutub al-sitta*, belong); or according to the names of the Companions of the Prophet (*aṣḥāb* or *ṣaḥāba*)² to whom they go back in the last resort (as is the case with the *musnad* collections, e.g. that of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal).³ The works of *sīra* literature present the individual reports in chronological order of the events to which they refer; while works of the traditionalistic *tafsīr* literature adduce them by way of commentary on the verses of the Qur'ān to which they relate.⁴ Of course,

²[On the Companions of the Prophet and their role in early Islamic tradition, see Miklos Muranyi, *Die Prophetengenossen in der frühislamischen Geschichte* (Bonn, 1973); Shākir Nayyib Fayyād, "Al-Ṣaḥāba alladhima waṣafahum Abū Ḥātim bi-l-jahāla wa-dalālat al-jahāla 'indahu," *Dirāsāt* 22 (1995), 3627–51; Abdulkader I. Tayob, "Islamic Historiography: the Case of al-Ṭabarī's *Ta'rikh al-rusul wa-l-mulūk* on the Companions of the Prophet Muḥammad" (Ph.D. dissertation: Temple University, 1989); *idem*, "Ṭabarī on the Companions of the Prophet: Moral and Political Contours in Islamic Historical Writing," *JAOS* 119 (1999), 203–10; Albrecht Noth, "The *Ṣaḥāba* Topos," in Lawrence I. Conrad, ed., *History and Historiography in Early Islamic Times: Studies and Perspectives* (Princeton, 2002).]

³[The standard assessment of *ḥadīth* in Horovitz' time was Ignaz Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien* (Halle, 1888–90), II, 3–274; = his *Muslim Studies*, ed. and trans. S.M. Stern and C.R. Barber (London, 1967–71), II, 15–251. This work is still of great importance, as also are Goldziher's subsequent "Neue Materialien zur Litteratur des Ueberlieferungswesens bei den Muhammedanern," *ZDMG* 50 (1896), 465–506; and "Kämpfe um die Stellung des Ḥadīth im Islam," *ZDMG* 61 (1907), 860–72. See also Schacht, *Origins*; Muḥammad 'Ajjāj al-Khaṭīb, *Al-Sunna qabla l-tadwīn* (Cairo, 1963); *GAS*, I, 53–84; Abbott, *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri*, II; Azmi, *Studies in Early Ḥadīth Literature*; Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition*; *idem*, *Studies on the Origins and Uses of Islamic Ḥadīth* (Aldershot, 1996); Harald Motzki, *Die Anfänge der islamischen Jurisprudenz*; John Burton, *An Introduction to the Ḥadīth* (Edinburgh, 1994); Iftikhar Zaman, "The Science of *Rijāl* as a Method in the Study of *Ḥadīths*," *JIS* 5 (1994), 1–34; Muḥammad Qasim Zaman, "Maghāzī and the *Muḥaddithūn*: Reconsidering the Treatment of 'Historical' Materials in Early Collections of *Ḥadīth*," *IJMES* 28 (1996), 1–18. Cf. also the listings in Munawar Ahmad Anees and Atia N. Athar, *Guide to Sira and Hadith Literature in Western Languages* (London, 1986), 204–96; Muḥyī l-Dīn 'Aṭīya, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Hifnī, and Muḥammad Khayr Ramaḍān Yūsuf, *Dalīl mu'allafāt al-ḥadīth al-sharīf al-maṭbū'a al-qadīma wa-l-ḥadītha* (Beirut, 1995).]

⁴[In Horovitz' time the leading studies on *tafsīr* were H. Hirschfeld, *New Researches into the Composition and Exegesis of the Qur'ān* (London, 1902); Theodor Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qur'āns*, 2nd ed. by Friedrich Schwally, Gotthelf Bergsträsser, and Otto Pretzl (Leipzig,

neither all the three provinces, nor even all the works belonging to each one of them, present exactly the same material; but individual works differ much more in the choice that they make from the vast material—a choice that is determined partly by the special interests that the compilers have in mind and partly by the measure of criticism that they apply to the credibility of the individual reports. Such works, however, of any of the three categories, as are regarded as the fullest possible collections of the entire material in *ḥadīth*, as, for example, al-Wāqidī's *Kitāb al-maghāzī* on the one hand and Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal's *Musnad* on the other, contain in all essentials the same matter; we shall find but rarely a *ḥadīth* in al-Wāqidī that [536] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal has not cited. A noteworthy attempt to make the whole material collected in the works of *ḥadīth* and *sīra* literature accessible in compendious form is shown in the remarkable *Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition* that has lately appeared, by the publication of which Prof. Wensinck in Leiden has done a notable service.⁵ If it were possible, later, similarly to bring together all the *aḥādīth* cited in al-Ṭabarī's *Tafsīr*, it would then be easy to survey the essential contents of all three literatures in so far as they consist of *aḥādīth*.

1909–38), II; Ignaz Goldziher, *Die Richtungen in der islamischen Koranauslegung* (Leiden, 1920). Horovitz had just published his own *Koranische Untersuchungen* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1926). Cf. further now Harris Birkeland, *Old Muslim Opposition against Interpretation of the Koran* (Oslo, 1956); *GAS*, I, 19–49; Abbott, *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri*, II, 92–113; John Wansbrough, *Qur'anic Studies: Sources and Methods of Scriptural Interpretation* (Oxford, 1977); Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Dhahabī, *Al-Tafsīr wa-l-mufasssīrūn* (Cairo, 1409/1989); Claude Gilliot, *Exégèse, langue et théologie en Islam* (Paris, 1990); Andrew Rippin, "Studying Early *Tafsīr* Texts," *Der Islam* 72 (1995), 310–23; Herbert Berg, *The Development of Exegesis in Early Islam: the Authenticity of Muslim Literature for the Formative Period* (Richmond, Surrey, 2000). Valuable collections of articles are Andrew Rippin, ed., *Approaches to the History of the Interpretation of the Qur'ān* (Oxford, 1988); G.R. Hawting and Abdul-Kader Shareef, eds., *Approaches to the Qur'ān* (London and New York, 1993); Stefan Wild, ed., *The Qur'ān as Text* (Leiden, 1996); Andrew Rippin, ed., *The Qur'ān: Formative Interpretation*, in Lawrence I. Conrad, ed., *The Formation of the Classical Islamic World*, 25 (Aldershot, 1999).]

⁵[A.J. Wensinck, *Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition* (Leiden, 1927). The concordance of the main early *ḥadīth* collections launched by Wensinck in 1916 was not to begin publication of volumes until after Horovitz' death; see A.J. Wensinck, ed., *Concordance et indices de la tradition musulmane* (Leiden, 1936–88). A more recent index encompassing many more collections, but alphabetised according to the beginnings of phrases and therefore useful primarily for those who already know what they are looking for, is Abū Ḥājir Muḥammad al-Sa'īd ibn Bayūnī Zaghlūl, *Mawsū'at aṭraf al-ḥadīth al-nabawī al-sharīf* (Beirut, 1989).]

Already in the generation following that of the Companions of the Prophet (*aṣḥāb* or *ṣaḥāba*), that of the *tābi'ūn*, people began to collect the traditions of the sayings and doings of the Prophet that were current at the time. If the data for the *aḥādīth* of a number of the Companions of the Prophet recorded on leaves (*ṣaḥā'if*) or in books (*kutub*) is partly of uncertain worth,⁶ still there can be no doubt but that such written records were no longer a rarity in the generation of the *tābi'ūn*, who derived their knowledge from the Companions.⁷ Among the *tābi'ūn* there already existed persons who were deemed especially well informed concerning the *maghāzī*—an expression that means “campaigns” and therefore in a verbal sense should have been restricted to the warlike deeds of the Prophet and his Companions, but was very often applied to the whole life-story of the Prophet (*sīra*).⁸ In the sequel

⁶Ignaz Goldziher has brought together a number of such data; see his *Muhammedanische Studien*, II, 9 [= *Muslim Studies*, II, 22–24]; also a review of his in *ZDMG* 71 (1917), 439.

⁷[The written as opposed to oral aspects of early Islamic literary culture have been the subject of much discussion. The most important contributions have been in a series of seminal articles by Gregor Schoeler: “Die Frage der schriftlichen oder mündlichen Überlieferung der Wissenschaften im frühen Islam,” *Der Islam* 62 (1985), 201–30; “Weiteres zur Frage der schriftlichen oder mündlichen Überlieferung der Wissenschaften im Islam,” *Der Islam* 66 (1989), 38–67; “Mündliche Thora und Ḥadīṭ,” *Der Islam* 66 (1989), 213–51; “Schreiben und Veröffentlichen. Zu Verwendung und Funktion der Schrift in den ersten islamischen Jahrhundert,” *Der Islam* 69 (1992), 1–43. See also Aloys Sprenger, “On the Origin and Progress of Writing Down of Historical Facts among the Musalmans,” *JASB* 25 (1856), 303–29, 375–81; Fritz Krenkow, “The Use of Writing for the Preservation of Ancient Arabic Poetry,” in T.W. Arnold and Reynold A. Nicholson, eds., *A Volume of Oriental Studies Presented to Edward G. Browne... on his 60th Birthday (7 February 1922)* (Cambridge, 1922), 261–68; Geo Widengren, “Oral Tradition and Written Literature among the Hebrews in the Light of Arabic Evidence, with Special Regard to Prose Narratives,” *AO* 23 (1959), 201–62; Peter Antes, “Schriftverständnis im Islam,” *Theologische Quartalschrift* 16 (1981), 179–91; Rudolf Sellheim, “Muḥammad's erstes Offenbarungserlebnis. Zum Problem mündlicher und schriftlicher Überlieferung im 1./7. und 2./8. Jahrhundert,” *JSAI* 10 (1987), 1–16; Motzki, *Anfänge*, 74–75, 87–95; Norman Calder, *Studies in Early Muslim Jurisprudence* (Oxford, 1993), 166–71, 188–93; Fred M. Donner, *Narratives of Islamic Origins: the Beginnings of Islamic Historical Writing* (Princeton, 1997), 16–18; and most recently, Schoeler's *Charakter und Authentie*, 9, 42–48, 53–57, 114–15, 163–66, 167–68; ‘Alī al-Shahrastānī, *Man‘ tadwīn al-ḥadīth* (Cairo, 1997); Michael Cook, “The Opponents of the Writing of Traditions in Early Islam,” *Arabica* 44 (1997), 437–530.]

⁸[The early meaning and relationship of the terms *maghāzī* and *sīra* have been the subject of important attention since Horowitz' time. His own views are outlined in his “Vorwort” to his ed. of vol. II.1 of Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, ed. Eduard Sachau *et al.* (Leiden, 1904–40), vi–vii. More recent work includes M.M. Bravmann, “*Sunnah* and

we shall have to speak of these peculiar experts in *maghāzī* among the *tābi'ūn*, and of their written records; we shall deal, however, not alone with this side of their activity but shall also bring together all important information we possess concerning them. In one or two further articles we shall treat of the experts in *maghāzī* belonging to the following generation, that of the *tabā'i' al-tābi'ūn*, and finally of the authors of the earliest regular biographies of the Prophet, Ibn Ishāq and his contemporaries, as well as al-Wāqidī and Ibn Sa‘d.⁹

Related Concepts,” in his *The Spiritual Background of Early Islam: Studies in Ancient Arab Concepts* (Leiden, 1972), 123–98; Martin Hinds, “‘Maghāzī’ and ‘Sīra’ in Early Islamic Scholarship,” in Toufic Fahd, ed., *La vie du prophète Mahomet* (Paris, 1983), 57–66; repr. in Hinds' *Studies on Early Islamic History*, ed. Jere Bacharach, Lawrence I. Conrad, and Patricia Crone (Princeton, 1996), 186–96; Ḥusayn ‘Aṭwān, *Riwāyat al-shāmīyīn li-l-maghāzī wa-l-siyar* (Beirut, 1986), 84–85; Maher Jarrar, “*Sīra*, *Mashāhid*, and *Maghāzī*: the Genesis and Development of the Biography of Muḥammad,” in Conrad, ed., *History and Historiography*.]

⁹[Horowitz here refers to the following parts of this study.]

bint Jundab.² He cannot have been born much later than the year AH 20 since in the year 36 he was old enough to take part in the [537] campaign that 'Ā'isha, Ṭaḥa and al-Zubayr undertook in order to avenge the murder

CHAPTER I

Maghāzī Authorities among the Tābi'ūn

AS THE FIRST among the tābi'ūn to be known as an especial authority on maghāzī we must name Abān,¹ son of the caliph 'Uthmān and of Umm 'Amr

¹[SOURCES: Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 112:15–113:23; Yaḥyā ibn Ma'tn, *Ta'rikh*, ed. Aḥmad Muḥammad Nūr Sayf (Mecca, 1399/1979), II, 5:12–15; III, 262:8–10 no. 1232; Muṣ'ab al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal (Cairo, 1953), 42:16–43:8, 82:9–12, 110:13–14; Khalifa ibn Khayyāt, *Ta'rikh*, ed. Akram Diyā' al-'Umarī (Najaf, 1386/1967), I, 275:3, 277ult, 278:16, 289:6, 294:12–13, 299:4–6, 301:20, 22, 302:2; *idem*, *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt*, ed. Akram Diyā' al-'Umarī (Baghdad, 1386/1967), 240:8–13; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Kitāb al-muḥabbar*, ed. Ilse Lichtenstädter (Hyderabad, 1361/1942), 235:14, 301ult–302:1, 303:13; al-Jāḥiẓ, *Al-Bayān wa-l-tabyīn*, ed. 'Abd al-Salām Muḥammad Ḥārūn (Cairo, 1367–70/1948–50), I, 302:6–15; *idem*, *Kitāb al-burṣān wa-l-'urjān wa-l-'umyān wa-l-ḥulān*, ed. Muḥammad Mursī al-Khūlī (Cairo, 1392/1972), 55:13–56:7, 72:8–73:2, 280pu–281:9, 364:6; al-Bukhārī, *Al-Ta'rikh al-kabīr*, ed. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Mu'tid Khān (Hyderabad, 1360–64/1940–44), I.1, 450ult–451:4 no. 1440; *idem*, *Al-Ta'rikh al-awsaṭ*, ed. Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Luḥaydān (Riyadh, 1418/1998), I, 317:14–16 no. 676; *idem*, *Al-Ta'rikh al-ṣaghīr*, ed. Maḥmūd Ibrāhīm Zāyid (Aleppo, 1397/1977), I, 174:1–4, 215:2–5; al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Al-Akhbār al-muwaffaqīyāt*, ed. Sāmī Makkī al-'Ānī, 2nd ed. (Beirut, 1416/1996), 79:6–7, 269:5, 275:3–277:4; al-'Ijlī, *Ta'rikh al-thiqāt*, ed. 'Abd al-Mu'tī Qal'ajī (Beirut, 1405/1984), 51:2 no. 16; Ibn Qutayba, *Kitāb al-ma'ārif*, ed. Tharwat 'Ukkāsha, 2nd ed. (Cairo, 1969), 201:1–5, 307:14–15, 578:4–7; al-Fasawī, *Al-Ma'rifa wa-l-ta'rikh*, ed. Akram Diyā' al-'Umarī (Baghdad, 1974), I, 353:14, 360:16–361:6, 426:3–4, 643:12–16, 714:10; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, IV.1, ed. Iḥsān 'Abbās (Wiesbaden, 1979), 617pu–618:12; V, ed. S.D.F. Goitein (Jerusalem, 1936), 374:11–12; XI (*Anonyme arabische Chronik*), ed. Wilhelm Ahlwardt (Greifswald, 1883), 189:8, 209:7–15; *idem*, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, ed. M.J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1866), 470:10–12; Abū Zur'a, *Ta'rikh*, ed. Shukr Allāh ibn Ni'mat Allāh al-Qūchānī (Damascus, 1400/1980), I, 508:7–11, 509:6–8, 510:5–6; Wakī', *Akhbār al-quḍāt*, ed. 'Abd al-'Azīz Muṣṭafā al-Marāghī (Cairo, 1366–70/1947–50), I, 125:10–13, 129:9–130:15; al-Dulābī, *Kitāb al-kunā wa-l-asmā'* (Hyderabad, AH 1322), I, 187:11–191:4; Ibn Abī Ḥatīm al-Rāzī, *Kitāb al-jarḥ wa-l-ta'dīl* (Hyderabad, 1371–73/1952–53), I.1, 295:5–7 no. 1084; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab wa-ma'ādin al-jawhar*, ed. Charles Pellat (Beirut, 1966–79), III, 319:8–10 no. 2031, 376:6–7 no. 2139; V, 287:13–14 no. 3635, 287:17 no.

3636; Ibn Ḥibbān al-Bustī, *Kitāb al-thiqāt*, ed. Sharaf al-Dīn Aḥmad (Hyderabad, 1393–1403/1973–83), IV, 37:3–6; *idem*, *Mashāḥir 'ulamā' al-amṣār*, ed. Manfred Fleischhammer (Wiesbaden, 1959), 67:6–7 no. 454; Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Kitāb al-aghānī*, ed. Aḥmad Zakī al-'Adawī *et al.* (Cairo, 1345–94/1927–74), III, 328:1–13; IV, 220:5–14; XXI, ed. R.E. Brünnow (Leiden, 1883), 92:15–93:1; al-Shīrāzī, *Ṭabaqāt al-fuqahā'*, ed. Iḥsān 'Abbās (Beirut, 1401/1981), 47:3–6; Ibn al-Qaysarānī, *Al-Jam' bayna kitābay Abī Naṣr al-Kalābādhī wa-Abī Bakr al-Iṣbahānī fī riḡāl al-Bukhārī wa-Muslim* (Hyderabad, AH 1322), I, 42:3–4 no. 158; Ibn Ḥamdūn, *Al-Tadhkira al-ḥamdūnīya*, ed. Iḥsān 'Abbās and Bakr 'Abbās (Beirut, 1996), IX, 336:9–338:4 no. 665; Ibn 'Asākīr, *Ta'rikh madīnat Dimashq*, ed. Muḥibb al-Dīn Abū Sa'id 'Umar ibn Gharāma al-'Amrawī (Beirut, 1415–21/1995–2000), VI, 147:6–158:3 no. 342; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Al-Muntazam fī l-umam wa-l-mulūk*, ed. Nu'aym Zarzūr *et al.* (Beirut, 1412–13/1992–93), IV, 335:17; VI, 202ult, 204:8; VII, 100:5–12 no. 575; al-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-asmā' wa-l-lughāt*, ed. Ferdinand Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1842–47), 125pu–126:13; al-Yāfi'i, *Mir'āt al-janān wa-'ibrat al-yaqzān* (Hyderabad, AH 1337–39), I, 226:9–10; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl fī ma'rifat al-riḡāl*, ed. Bashshār 'Awwād Ma'rūf (Beirut, 1403–13/1983–92), II, 16:4–19:2 no. 141; *idem*, *Tuḥfat al-ashraf bi-ma'rifat al-atraf*, ed. 'Abd al-Ṣamad Sharaf al-Dīn (Bombay, 1384–1403/1965–82), XIII, 134:3–5 no. 987; al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh al-islām wa-wafayāt al-mashāḥir wa-l-a'lām*, ed. 'Umar 'Abd al-Salām Tadmurī (Beirut, 1407/1987–proceeding), AH 81–100, 38:3–39:12 no. 1; AH 101–20, 22:3–23:4 no. 1; *idem*, *Sīyar a'lām al-nubalā'*, ed. Shu'ayb al-Arna'ūt *et al.* (Beirut, 1401–1405/1981–85), IV, 351:13–353:8 no. 133; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfi bi-l-wafayāt*, ed. Hellmut Ritter *et al.* (Wiesbaden, 1949–proceeding), V, 301:16–19 no. 2363; Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya* (Cairo, 1351/1932), IX, 233pu–234:4; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb* (Hyderabad, AH 1325–27), I, 97:3–16 no. 173; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab fī akhbār man dhahaba* (Cairo, AH 1350–51), I, 131:14–20.

MODERN STUDIES: Eduard Sachau, "Einleitung" to his edition of Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III.1, xviii; K.V. Zetterstéen, art. "Abān ibn 'Uthmān" in *EI*¹, I (Leiden, 1913), 5a; Johann Fück, *Muḥammad ibn Iṣḥāq. Literarhistorische Untersuchungen* (Frankfurt am Main, 1925), 7–8; K.V. Zetterstéen, art. "Abān ibn 'Uthmān" in *EI*², I (Leiden, 1960), 2b–3a; Werner Caskel, *Ḡamharat an-nasab. Das genealogische Werk des Ḥiṣām ibn Muḥammad al-Kalbī* (Leiden, 1966), I, Chart 11; II, 101b; *GAS*, I, 277–78; Nisar Ahmed Faruqi, *Early Muslim Historiography: a Study of Early Transmitters of Arab History from the Rise of Islam up to the End of Umayyad Period, 612–750 A.D.* (Delhi, 1979), 217–24; Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī, *Al-A'lām*, 4th ed. (Beirut, 1981), I, 27b; A.A. Duri, *The Rise of Historical Writing among the Arabs*, ed. and trans. Lawrence I. Conrad (Princeton, 1983), 24–25; Maher Jarrar, *Die Prophetenbiographie im islamischen Spanien. Ein Beitrag zur Überlieferungs- und Redaktionsgeschichte* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1979), 15–20; Donner, *Narratives of Islamic Origins*, 148, 219.]

²Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh al-rusul wa-l-mulūk*, ed. M.J. de Goeje *et al.* (Leiden, 1879–1901), I, 3056:5–8.

of 'Uthmān (in AH 35);³ in the course of the expedition he was deputed to ascertain the decision of 'Ā'isha as to the fate of a prisoner.⁴ In the following four decades he seems to have played no part in politics, till in AH 75 the caliph 'Abd al-Malik appointed him governor of Medina.⁵ The initiative in this appointment did not originate with the caliph, however, but resulted from the action of Abān's predecessor who, when he wished to pay a visit to the court of Damascus, without first obtaining the caliph's consent, had left him as his *locum tenens* on his own authority.⁶ Abān held the position of a governor of Medina for seven years till in AH 83 'Abd al-Malik deprived him of the post.⁷ During his time of office he was regularly entrusted by the caliph with the leadership of the *hajj*,⁸ but also when, in AH 81, on account of war troubles, the caliph's order failed to come and the governor of Mecca wished to secure the honour of the leadership of the *hajj* for himself, Abān had no difficulty in maintaining his rights on the ground of his origin and by the support of his relations.⁹ During his term of office some respected men like Jābir ibn 'Abd Allāh, the Companion of the Prophet; Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafiya, the son, and 'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'far, the nephew of 'Alī, died in Medina; and on each occasion Abān performed the funeral service.¹⁰ Otherwise, of his official dealings we hear not much more than that he instated a new *qāḍī*,¹¹ punished false coiners,¹² and increased the measure of the bushel.¹³

The data for the year of his death—one year before his death he had a paralytic stroke—are defective. Al-Bukhārī in the *Ta'rikh [al-ṣaghīr]* puts

³ *Ibid.*, I, 3104:2.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 3126:10–18.

⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 873:4.

⁶ Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 112:22–113:2.

⁷ Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, II, 1127:1–2.

⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 940:10–12, 1031:18–19, 1035:10–12, 1039:7–10, 1046pu–1047:1, 1063:5–9, 1085:12–14. [Several of these passages refer to Abān as governor of Medina but not leader of the pilgrimage.]

⁹ *Aghānī*, [III, 328:1–13].

¹⁰ Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, III, 2339:12–21; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 113:4–5.

¹¹ Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 113:2–3.

¹² Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 470:10–12.

¹³ Julius Wellhausen, *Muhammad in Medina, das ist Vakidi's Kitab alMaghazi in verkürzter deutscher Wiedergabe* (Berlin, 1882), 288 [= al-Wāqidi, *Kitāb al-maghāzī*, ed. Marsden Jones (Cairo, 1966), II, 697:14–15. The significance of the change lay in the fact that the same rates for payment in kind to stipendiaries would be maintained, but using the new larger measure for the bushel (*ṣā'*).]

it in the time of al-Walīd (AH 86–96),¹⁴ Ibn Sa'd in that of Yazīd II (AH 101–105),¹⁵ some put it at the very end of the latter reign (AH 105).¹⁶ Abān is mentioned among the *fuqahā'* of Medina,¹⁷ and is said to [538] have been well versed in the legal decisions of his father,¹⁸ while other evidences contest that he had heard traditions from his father.¹⁹ Abān is of good repute as a *muḥaddith*, and, besides his son 'Abd al-Raḥmān, Abū l-Zinād and al-Zuhri among others are named as among those who took *ḥadīth* from him.²⁰

While, however, his name is of frequent occurrence in the *isnāds* of the *ḥadīth* collections, it is altogether absent from the works of the *sīra* literature;²¹ neither Ibn Ishāq nor al-Wāqidi nor Ibn Sa'd (in the part of his work that is devoted to the actual biography of the Prophet) ever names him.²² It is true that Ibn Sa'd traces a report concerning the capture of al-'Abbās and other Hāshimites at Badr back to Abān ibn 'Uthmān,²³ but the *isnād*—Abān from Mu'āwiya ibn 'Ammār from Ja'far ibn Muḥammad (who died in AH 148)—shows that not our Abān, but the Shī'ite author, Abān ibn 'Uthmān al-Bajalī, is meant.²⁴ This latter composed a book in which he treated of “the beginning, the Mission and the Campaigns of the Prophet” (*al-mabda' wa-l-mab'ath wa-l-maghāzī*), and it is probably he whom Yāqūt designated as *ṣāhib al-maghāzī*.²⁵

¹⁴ [Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Ta'rikh al-ṣaghīr*, I, 215:2–5.]

¹⁵ Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 113:22.

¹⁶ [Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, I, 97:9.]

¹⁷ Al-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-asmā'*, 126:5–8; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, I, [97:6–7].

¹⁸ Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, I, [97:13].

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, [I, 97:14].

²⁰ [*Ibid.*, I, 97:4–5.]

²¹ [It is worth noting that Abān is also absent from the broader historical tradition. An apparent exception is a reference to Abān ibn 'Uthmān in al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, ed. M.T. Houtsma (Leiden, 1883), II, 3:19, but this is the later Abān ibn 'Uthmān al-Bajalī (on whom Horovitz will have more to say in a moment, and cf. n. 30 below) often confused with the son of the caliph 'Uthmān.]

²² Outside the *sīra* Ibn Sa'd [*Ṭabaqāt*, III.1, 262:8] mentions Abān once when quoting the last words of 'Umar, which he (Abān) had heard from his father; and Ibn Qutayba [*Al-Shi'r wa-l-shu'arā'*, ed. M.J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1903), 69:6–8] cites Abān as voucher for the fact that the mantle given by the Prophet to the poet Ka'b ibn Zuhayr was afterwards purchased by Mu'āwiya and worn by the rulers on the 'Īd days.

²³ Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, IV.1, 29:13–15. See also al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, [III], 2340:12–14.

²⁴ Fück, *Muḥammad ibn Ishāq*, 8 n. 27.

²⁵ Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, ed. Ferdinand Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1866–73), IV, 55:3. [Cf. Horovitz' earlier argument in *OLZ* 17 (1914), 183.]

But our Abān, the son of the caliph, also gave particular attention to the *maghāzī*. Of a certain al-Mughīra ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān, it is said in Ibn Sa'd: "He was trustworthy but transmitted only a few *aḥādīth* except the *maghāzī* that he took from Abān ibn 'Uthmān; they were much studied before him and he commanded us to teach them."²⁶ This al-Mughīra belonged to the army of Maslama²⁷ that in AH 96 set out for Asia Minor²⁸ and in AH 99 received the order to return from 'Umar II;²⁹ al-Mughīra can have received the *maghāzī* only from our Abān, the son of the caliph, not from Abān ibn 'Uthmān al-Bajālī, who lived two or three generations after him. In these *maghāzī*, transmitted by al-Mughīra after Abān, it is a question not of a book in the proper sense of the word, [539] but exclusively of a collection of materials that relate to the life of the Prophet; and even of that collection, which thus would be of a similar character to the above-mentioned *ṣaḥā'if* and *kutub*, nothing seems to have been preserved for us.³⁰

Anyhow Abān must be named as the first who put into writing a special collection dealing with the *maghāzī*. Medina, it is true, had ceased to be the capital of the Arab empire after the murder of 'Uthmān, but it long remained the seat of the highest Arab society, which was composed of the descendants of the Meccan Muhājirūn, of the Medinan Anṣār and adherents of the family of the Umayyads, which had since gained the sovereignty in Damascus. And not religious studies only received zealous attention in those circles of Medina,

²⁶Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 156:3–5.

²⁷*Ibid.*, V, 155pu–156:1.

²⁸Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, II, 1305:3–4.

²⁹*Ibid.*, II, 1346:1–4.

³⁰[In the translation of Duri, *Rise of Historical Writing*, 24 n. 19, this editor pointed out that the issue of the character and literary form of Abān's materials must be considered in light of an important report in al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Muwaffaqiyāt*, 275:3–277:4. Here it is stated that in AH 82 the then-*amīr* Sulaymān ibn 'Abd al-Malik asked Abān to write down for him "*siyar al-nabī* and his *maghāzī*". Abān replied: "I have them with me; I took them and verified them from sources I trust." A copy of this material was prepared for Sulaymān by ten scribes, but he later destroyed it when he found material he deemed unfavourable to the Umayyads. If one accepts this report as accurate, then at this time literary historical thinking was already rather more articulate and coherent than Horovitz' position would seem to allow. The question has since been considered by 'Aṭwān, *Riwāyat al-shāmīyīn*, 23–25; Jarrar, *Prophetenbiographie*, 15–19; *idem*, "*Sīra*, *Mashāhid*, and *Maghāzī*". In light of this evidence one must also reject the claim of Ma'rūf in his edition of al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, II, 19 n. 1, that Abān ibn 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān never took any interest in the *maghāzī* and that all references to an "Abān ibn 'Uthmān" in this connection refer only to the later Abān ibn 'Uthmān al-Bajālī.]

but music and poetry also were in high esteem among them. It would be an error to suppose that there existed no points of contact between the two worlds of the learned men and of the poets, and that the theological authorities were, without exception, altogether averse to poetry.³¹ There were even in Medina ornaments of Islamic [scholarship] who at the same time were eminent as poets, and the most famous example of such a personal union is presented by 'Ubayd Allāh ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Utba,³² a grandson of 'Utba ibn Mas'ūd who had fought at the Prophet's side at Uḥud.

To this 'Ubayd Allāh, Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī dedicates in his *Kitāb al-aghānī* a special chapter with examples of his verse,³³ as does also Ibn Sa'd in

³¹[Horovitz' interest in early Arabic poetry and its place in historical writing is evident throughout this study. It was also a subject to which he had already devoted an important article; see his "Die poetischen Einlagen der *Sīra*," *Islamica* 2 (1926), 308–12 (trans. in *SEI*, Chap. 8). Cf. also below, 87–89. More recent works include Omar A. Farrukh, *Das Bild des Frühislam in der arabischen Dichtung von der Hīġra bis zum Tode 'Umars*, 1–23 D.H./622–644 N.C.H. (Leipzig, 1937); Muhammad Abdul Muid Khan, "A Critical Study of the Poetry of the Prophet's Time and its Authenticity as the Source of *Sīra*," *IC* 38 (1964), 249–87; James T. Monroe, "The Poetry of the *Sīrah* Literature," in A.F.L. Beeston et al., eds., *Cambridge History of Arabic Literature: Arabic Literature to the End of the Umayyad Period* (Cambridge, 1983), 368–73; M.J. Kister, "On a New Edition of the *Dīwān* of Ḥassān b. Thābit," *BSOAS* 39 (1976), 265–86; Ewald Wagner, *Grundzüge der klassischen arabischen Dichtung*, I: *Die altarabische Dichtung* (Darmstadt, 1987); Renate Jacobi, "Die altarabische Dichtung (6.–7. Jahrhundert)," in Helmut Gätje, ed., *Grundriss der arabischen Philologie*, II (Wiesbaden, 1987), 20–31; M.J. Kister, "The *Sīra* Literature: a Historical Survey," in Conrad, ed., *History and Historiography*. Authenticity has long been been a key issue, with seminal work contributed by Walid 'Arafat in a series of articles: see his "The Development of a Dramatic Theme in the Story of Khubaib ibn 'Adiyy and the Related Poems," *BSOAS* 21 (1958), 15–30; *idem*, "Early Critics of the Authenticity of the Poetry of the *Sīra*," *BSOAS* 21 (1958), 453–63; *idem*, "An Aspect of the Forger's Art in Early Islamic Poetry," *BSOAS* 28 (1965), 477–82; Michael Zwettler, *The Oral Tradition of Classical Arabic Poetry: Its Character and Implications* (Columbus, 1978), 11–13. Cf. Wagner, *Grundzüge*, I, 12–29; Jacobi, "Die altarabische Dichtung," 20–23. The argument that ancient Arabic verse—"authentic" or otherwise—can often still be meaningfully critiqued and used as a historical source is advanced in, for example, Werner Caskel, "Aus der Frühzeit des Islam. 1. Ein authentischer Bericht über die Niederlage von Mu'ta. 2. Eine Entscheidung des Kalifen 'Alī," in Wilhelm Hoenerbach, ed., *Der Orient in der Forschung. Festschrift für Otto Spies* (Wiesbaden, 1967), 9–17; Lawrence I. Conrad, "Epidemic Disease in Central Syria in the Late Sixth Century: Some New Insights from the Verse of Ḥassān ibn Thābit," *BMGS* 18 (1994), 12–58.]

³²[*GAS*, II, 426–27. An anthology of accounts about and poems by him, collected by al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, was known in al-Andalus; see Abū Bakr ibn Khayr, *Fahrāsa*, ed. Franciscus Codera and J. Ribera Tarrago (Saragossa, 1893), 384:18–22.]

³³*Aghānī*, [IX, 139:1–152:8].

his *Ṭabaqāt*.³⁴ He is recorded among the seven *fuqahā'* of Medina,³⁵ and when he had fallen in love with a fair Hudhalī, he called, in the verses addressed to her, the six other *fuqahā'* as witnesses to the strength of his love:

I love thee with a love that, without becoming hurtful to thee,
Is so strong that, if thou knewest a part thereof, thou wouldst be
lavish of thine.

And my love for thee, O Mother of the Boy, robs me of
My understanding. For that is Abū Bakr my witness, and
[What an outstanding witness he is].³⁶
And al-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad knows my love-pain
And 'Urwa knows what I have suffered through thee, and Sa'īd.
And Sulaymān knows, who does not hide his [540] knowledge;
And Khārija speaks of it a first and second time.

If thou inquirest of that which I tell thee thou wilt get tidings
thereof,

For verily love with me is new and inveterate.³⁷

Others there are of these celebrated *fuqahā'* who do not indeed themselves stand forth as poets, but are famed as connoisseurs and critics of the poetic art of their time; as, for instance, one of the other six *fuqahā'* cited by 'Ubayd Allāh as witnesses for his love, Sa'īd ibn al-Musayyab, the son-in-law of Abū Hurayra and a pillar of the science of *ḥadīth*. When Nawfal ibn Musāhiq greeted him in the mosque of Medina in the circle of his colleagues and students, he addressed to him the question whether 'Abd Allāh ibn Qays al-Ruqayyāt or 'Umar ibn Abī Rabī'a was to be preferred as poet,³⁸ and 'Abd Allāh ibn Qays himself turned to Sa'īd with a request for his judgment on his latest verse.³⁹ As indicating the high value that in these circles was placed on a careful mode of expression in all circumstances there is an anecdote contained in the *Kitāb al-aghānī*. "When I found myself upon

³⁴Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, [185:15–186:4].

³⁵[Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, VII, 23:13–14.]

³⁶[In the published English text: "I am a witness"; in the Arabic (*Aghānī*, IX, 148:12): *wa-ayyu shahīdi*.]

³⁷*Aghānī*, [IX, 148:10–15]. The seven witnesses are Abū Bakr ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān, al-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad, 'Urwa ibn al-Zubayr, Sa'īd ibn al-Musayyab, Sulaymān ibn Yasar, Khārija ibn Zayd, and 'Ubayd Allāh himself.

³⁸*Ibid.*, I, [113:1–14].

³⁹*Ibid.*, [V, 91:7–92:5].

the pilgrimage," thus relates 'Ubayd Allāh ibn 'Umar, "I saw a beautiful woman, who, however, in her conversation used obscene gestures. Thereupon I drove my camel near to her and spoke: 'O handmaid of Allāh, thou art on the pilgrimage, fearest thou not Allāh therefore?' She, however, thereupon unveiled a countenance that surpassed the sun in beauty and said: 'Bethink thee, O my uncle, I am a woman of those whom the poet al-'Arjī was thinking when he said:

Of those, who undertake the pilgrimage, not for the reward with
Allāh,

But in order that they may slay the innocent one who is forgetful.'

Then I said: 'Therefore I will pray to Allāh that he punish not that countenance with the fire of Hell.'" Sa'īd ibn al-Musayyab heard this story and said: "By Allāh, if it had been one of those detestable Iraq people, he would have said to her: 'Get out! May God blast thee!' His answer, however, shows the delicacy of the pietists of Ḥijāz."⁴⁰

With the introduction of this anecdote we are not so far off from our theme as may perhaps appear, for Sa'īd deserves a short mention at this point, because we have [541] to thank him for a weighty testimony to the fact that the *maghāzī* formed a favourite topic of conversation in the aristocratic society of Medina. In al-Ṭabarī he relates:

While we were with Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam⁴¹ the doorkeeper came in and announced Abū Khālid Ḥakīm ibn Ḥizām, whereupon Marwān gave order that he should be admitted. When Ḥakīm had entered, he bade him welcome, made him draw near and gave him the place of honour, so that he came to sit between him and the cushion. Then Marwān turned to him and said: "Relate to us the history of Badr," whereupon Ḥakīm began his narrative.⁴²

In the same way that Marwān turned to a Companion of the Prophet, Marwān's son, the caliph 'Abd al-Malik, later had recourse to one of the respected *tābi'ūn*, in order to have information concerning Badr.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, [XIX, 217:2–10].

⁴¹He is speaking evidently of the time when Marwān was governor of Medina, probably AH 56.

⁴²Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, I, 1313:8–14. [The phrase "began his narrative" is Horowitz' gloss; the Arabic is: "whereupon Ḥakīm said..."]

To return once more to Abān: After what has been said regarding the inclinations of the learned *fuqahā'* and *muḥaddithūn* for the poetic art we shall be no longer surprised to hear that Abān too was a lover of poetry. Abū l-Zinād tells us that he was hardly ever in his company without hearing him recite the verses of the Jewish poet of Medina, [al-Rabī' ibn Abī l-Ḥuqayq],⁴³ that run:

Now that I am chained to my bed
I am disgusted with the error of my people and their guilt,
And with the foolish counsel after understanding
And with the reproach of the right way, which none hath
taken.
For if my people had but followed the Wise,
They would not have transgressed nor would such wrong
have happened.
But they followed the Deceiver,
Till the folk of blood stung home like vipers,
And the fool destroyed the counsel of the intelligent
And so the cause was lost beyond repair.⁴⁴

And Yazīd ibn 'Iyād states that Abān, as governor of Medina, only fell in with the wish of 'Alī's nephew before mentioned, 'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'far, to betake himself to the court of Damascus when the latter was ready to send him his flute-player.⁴⁵ Abān is also described as a [542] man who had a strong turn for joke and pleasantry, and an instance of this propensity is also given in the *Kitāb al-aghānī*.⁴⁶

⁴³[For the name of this well-known figure the published English text has: "ar-Rabī'a ibn al-Ḥuqayq".]

⁴⁴*Aghānī*, XXI (ed. Brunnnow), [92:15–93:1. The poem is a lament for the fate of the Jews of Medina. Now that old age has confined him to his bed, the Jewish poet reflects on the folly and error of his people, arguing that had they but adhered to their covenant with Muḥammad (i.e. the "Constitution of Medina") and not been tempted to align themselves against him subsequently, they would not have suffered exile and massacre. But they allowed themselves to be misled by Satan ("the Deceiver"), and so were destroyed by the avenging Muslims ("the folk of blood"). The poem is clearly a later invention originating among Muslims pursuing a number of often-exercised anti-Jewish motifs; it is highly allusive and has been translated here from the Arabic rather too literally.]

⁴⁵Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, XI (ed. Ahlwardt), 209:7–15.

⁴⁶*Aghānī*, [XIX, 176:6–178:9].

Only a little later than Abān, 'Urwa ibn al-Zubayr was born, who likewise was an authority on the *maghāzī*, and from whose compilations, unlike those of Abān, a very large number of traditions have come down to us.⁴⁷ 'Urwa too

⁴⁷[SOURCES: Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 132pu–135:16; Yahyā ibn Ma'in, *Ta'rikh*, II, 399pu–400ult; Muṣ'ab al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, 243:8–9, 245pu–248ult, 380pu–381:1; Khalifa ibn Khayyāt, *Ta'rikh*, I, 131:1, 309ult; *idem*, *Ṭabaqāt*, 241:11–13; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Kitāb al-'ilal wa-ma'rifat al-rijāl*, ed. Waṣī Allāh ibn Muḥammad 'Abbās (Beirut and Riyadh, 1408/1988), IV, 244:13–20; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 100:9–11; al-Jāḥiẓ, *Al-Bayān wa-l-tabyīn*, II, 70:6–9; al-Bukhārī, *Al-Ta'rikh al-kabīr*, IV.1, 31:13–32:9 no. 138; *idem*, *Al-Ta'rikh al-awsaṭ*, I, 375:1–8 no. 834, 378ult no. 843; *idem*, *Al-Ta'rikh al-ṣaghīr*, I, 226:17–18, 231:15–17, 232:1–2, 4–7, 235:10; al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Muwaffaqiyāt*, 182:2–3; al-'Ijlī, *Ta'rikh al-thiqāt*, 331:5–7 no. 1121; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif* (ed. 'Ukkāsha), 222:8–14; al-Fasawī, *Al-Ma'rifa wa-l-ta'rikh*, I, 352:13–18, 353:6–16, 354:1–3, 364:16–365:2, 425ult–426:4, 471:3–15, 475:15–18, 479:3–5, 550:7–554:9, 559:1–6, 563:11–13, 622:9–623:1, 714:5–7; III, 17:5–9, 335pu–336:1; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, V, ed. Iḥsān 'Abbās (Wiesbaden, 1996), 52:2–54:9; V (ed. Goitein), 362:8–11, 370:3–371:13, 372:5–10; XI (ed. Ahlwardt), 257:1–10; *idem*, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 14:13–15, 217:19–218:1; Abū Zur'a, *Ta'rikh*, I, 144ult–146:2, 309:12–13, 404ult–405:3, 406:4–10, 407:12–13, 418:7–10, 497pu–498:1, 517:17–20, 521:7–9, 522:1–14; al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, II, 286:6, 337:10, 350:12; al-Dūlābī, *Al-Kunā wa-l-asmā'*, II, 58:9–59:21; Ibn Abī Ḥatim, *Al-Jarḥ wa-l-ta'dīl*, III.1, 395:21–396:7 no. 2207; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, III, 276:3–8 no. 1943, 316:12–20 no. 2024; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Thiqāt*, V, 194:6–195:7; *idem*, *Mashāḥir 'ulamā' al-amṣār*, 64:3–8 no. 428; *Aghānī*, I, 146:10–147:5; IV, 165:13–166:5, 408:2–10, 409:1–7, 420:1–421:2; V, 74pu–75:11; VI, 266:7–8; IX, 140:8–10; 142:1–143:11, 148pu–149:2; X, 306:11–307:2; XI, 188:3–5; XV, 6pu–7:3; XVI, 150:8–10, 197ult–198:4, 199:10–200:4; XVII, 241:2–242:12; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-fihrist*, ed. Gustav Flügel (Leipzig, 1871–72), 110:11; Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣfahānī, *Ḥilyat al-awliya' wa-ṭabaqāt al-aṣfiya'* (Cairo, 1354/1935), II, 176:1–183:7 no. 171; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat nasab Quraysh*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal (Cairo, 1948), 113:4, 11, 13, 115:3–116:18; al-Shīrāzī, *Ṭabaqāt al-fuqahā'*, 58:15–59:4; Ibn al-Qaysarānī, *Jam'*, I, 394:1–6 no. 1507; Ibn Ḥamdūn, *Tadhkira*, II, 453:10–454:12 no. 1154; III, 18ult–20:10 no. 20, 309:15–310:13 no. 935; IV, 310:1–10 no. 752; VI, 145:3–14 no. 437d; VII, 178:3–11 no. 830; VIII, 126:5–10 no. 336; IX, 247:10–16 no. 490; Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh madīnat Dimashq*, XL, 237:12–286:14 no. 4687; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, V, 105:16; VI, 278:9–16, 333:11–334:15 no. 531; *idem*, *Ṣifāt al-ṣafwa* (Hyderabad, AH 1355–57), II, 47:8–49:10; Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī l-ta'rikh* (Beirut, 1965–67), IV, 582:7; al-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-asmā'*, 420:7–421:2; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a'yān wa-anbā' abnā' al-zamān*, ed. Iḥsān 'Abbās (Beirut, 1968–72), III, 255:4–258:15 no. 416; al-Yāfi'ī, *Mir'āt al-janān*, I, 187:18–189:17; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, XX, 11ult–25:2 no. 3905; *idem*, *Tuḥfat al-ashraf*, XIII, 288:6–297:8 no. 1198; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ* (Hyderabad, 1375–76/1955–56), I, 62:7–63:2 no. 51; *idem*, *Ta'rikh al-islām*, AH 81–100, 424:1–429:6 no. 345; *idem*, *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'*, IV, 421:7–437:10 no. 168; al-Dhahabī, *tarājim* of the tradents of Ibn Ishāq in his *Tahdhīb tahdhīb al-kamāl fī asmā' al-rijāl*, ed. August Fischer, *Biographien von Gewährsmännern des Ibn Ishāq, hauptsächlich aus ad-Dhahabī* (Leiden, 1890), 40:1–48pu; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfi bi-l-wafayāt*, I, 7:8; XIX, 548:7–551:10 no. 566; Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya*, IX,

belonged to the old Islamic nobility and in reply to a presumptuous remark of al-Ḥajjāj—the conversation took place around the year AH 75—'Urwa appealed with pride to his relationship with the noblest women of the early days of Islam.⁴⁸ It happened thus: When 'Urwa once, in conversation with 'Abd al-Malik, mentioned his brother 'Abd Allāh not by his proper name but spoke of him as Abū Bakr, which was 'Abd Allāh's *kunya* (pseudonym), al-Ḥajjāj reproached him for it and said: "Dost thou name a hypocrite by his *kunya* in the presence of the Prince of the Believers? May'st thou have no mother!"⁴⁹ "Sayest thou that to me," 'Urwa replied, "the son of the matrons of Paradise? My mother is Asmā' the daughter of Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq, my grandmother Ṣafiya the daughter of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, my aunt on the mother's side 'Ā'isha, and my aunt on the father's side Khadīja." 'Urwa's grandfather al-'Awwām was a brother of Khadīja, his father al-Zubayr one of the earliest Companions of the Prophet; and his brother 'Abd Allāh just named,⁵⁰ the leader of those descendants of the Meccan and Medinan Com-

101:20–103:22; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, VII, 180:16–185:7 no. 351; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-zāhira* (Cairo, 1348–92/1929–72), I, 228pu–229:4; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, I, 103pu–104:14.

MODERN STUDIES: Ferdinand Wüstenfeld, *Die Familie el-Zubeir* (Göttingen, 1878), 51–56 no. 63; *idem*, *Die Geschichtschreiber der Araber und ihre Werke* (Göttingen, 1882), 3 no. 13; Sachau, "Einleitung," xviii–xix; Fück, *Muḥammad ibn Ishāq*, 7; V. Vacca, art. "Urwa ibn al-Zubayr" in *EI*¹, I (Leiden, 1934), 1047a–b; J. von Stülpnagel, "Urwa ibn az-Zubair. Sein Leben und seine Bedeutung als Quelle frühislamischer Überlieferung" (Tübingen, 1957); Jones' "Muqaddima" to his edition of al-Wāqidi's *Maghāzī*, I, 20–21; Caskel, *Ḥamharat an-nasab*, I, Chart 19; II, 575a; *GAS*, I, 278–79; Faruqī, *Early Muslim Historiography*, 224–35; al-Ziriklī, *Al-A'lām*, IV, 226b; Duri, *Rise of Historical Writing*, 25–26, 76–95; Jarrar, *Prophetenbiographie*, 20–23; Motzki, *Anfänge*, 197–98; Tarif Khalidī, *Arabic Historical Thought in the Classical Period* (Cambridge, 1994), 30–32; Donner, *Narratives of Islamic Origins*, 145–46, 148, 166, 219, 244, 300; G. Schoeler, art. "Urwa ibn al-Zubayr" in *EI*², X (Leiden, 2000), 910a–913a; Andreas Görke, "The Historical Tradition about al-Ḥudaybiya: a Study of 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr's Account," in Motzke, ed., *Biography of Muḥammad*, 240–71.]

⁴⁸Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, XI (ed. Ahlwardt), 63:14–64:2 [= *ibid.*, V (ed. Goitein), 371:9–13].

⁴⁹[The story has al-Ḥajjāj take offence because in early Islamic times reference to a man by his *kunya* was a token of deference and respect, as is obvious from several of the other dialogues cited by Horowitz in this study. On this point see Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, I, 242.]

⁵⁰[On Ibn al-Zubayr and the Second Civil War, see Patricia Crone, *Slaves on Horses: the Evolution of the Islamic Polity* (Cambridge, 1980), 34–41; G.R. Hawting, *The First Dynasty of Islam: the Umayyad Caliphate AD 661–750* (London and Sydney, 1986), 46–

panions who rejected the caliphate of Yazīd, reigned from AH 64–73 as anti-caliph in Mecca. 'Urwa was considerably younger than 'Abd Allāh,⁵¹ who received the news of the birth of his younger brother when, in AH 26, he returned to Medina from the African campaign.⁵² In the Battle of the Camel (AH 36), in which his father met his death, 'Urwa could not have taken part; to the boy, then ten years old, in contrast to the somewhat older Abān, participation was not allowed.⁵³ He remained then in his native city, and in AH 46 his name is first mentioned in connection with a political event, the revenge that Khālīd ibn al-Muhājir, the nephew of the murdered 'Abd Allāh ibn Khālīd, took on the latter's murderer.⁵⁴

In the last years of the reign [543] of Mu'āwiya (AH 41–60), therefore sometime from the year AH 55 on, 'Urwa forgathered regularly every night in the mosque of Medina with some friends. As a member of that circle, Qabīṣa, who afterwards became the confidant of the caliph 'Abd al-Malik, states, 'Urwa's brother Muṣ'ab, Abū Bakr ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān, 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān, 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Miswar, Ibrāhīm ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān and 'Ubayd Allāh ibn 'Abd Allāh belonged to it besides Qabīṣa himself and 'Urwa.⁵⁵ The legend, as Ibn Khallikān has preserved it for us, has taken possession of those nightly gatherings, and in so doing, for the sake of contrast, has imagined the addition to the names of the participators of that of 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr, while leaving out names uninteresting to it. It relates:

'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān, 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Zubayr and his two brothers Muṣ'ab and 'Urwa were together in the mosque in Mu'āwiya's time. When one of them said: "Come, let us utter our wishes," 'Abd Allāh said: "My wish is to govern both places

57; Hugh Kennedy, *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates: the Islamic Near East from the Sixth to the Eleventh Centuries* (London and New York, 1986), 90–103; and especially Gernot Rotter, *Die Umayyaden und der Zweite Bürgerkrieg (680–692)* (Wiesbaden, 1982).]

⁵¹[According to *GAS*, I, 278, he was about 30 years younger.]

⁵²*Aghānī*, [VI, 266:7–8]; also Ibn Abī Khaythama *apud* Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, VII, 184:10–11. 'Urwa is said to have been thirteen years old on the day of the Battle of the Camel. He was therefore born in AH 23.

⁵³Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 133:9–11. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 3103:5–11.

⁵⁴Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 82:19–83:11. Cf. also Henri Lammens, [*Études sur le règne du calife omayyade Mo'āwia Ier* (Paris, London, and Leipzig, 1908), 344–46; =] *MUSJ* 3 (1908), [208–10].

⁵⁵Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, XI (ed. Ahlwardt), 257:1–10.

of the sacred territory⁵⁶ and to attain the caliphate;" Muṣ'ab said: "My wish is to rule both Iraqs⁵⁷ and to marry the two splendid women of Quraysh, Sukayna bint al-Ḥakam and 'Ā'isha bint Ṭalḥa;" 'Abd al-Malik said: "My wish is to rule the whole world and to be Mu'āwiya's successor;" 'Urwa, however, said: "I want none of the things that you want. My wish is piety in this world and a portion in Paradise in the next, and to belong to those by whom this knowledge is transmitted further." Time fulfilled the hope of each of them and 'Abd al-Malik used to say: "Whoever wants to see a man who belongs to the dwellers in Paradise, let him look on 'Urwa."⁵⁸

'Urwa's sojourn in Medina was broken by a seven years' absence in Egypt, as to which we have a testimony of 'Urwa himself. "I spent"—so says 'Urwa in al-Balādhurī—"seven years in Egypt, and married there. I saw the folk exhausted because more burdens were laid on them than they could bear, although 'Amr had taken possession of Egypt on the basis of a peace treaty and an agreement, and certain imposed burdens."⁵⁹ Since we learn that 'Urwa was in Egypt at the time when his brother renounced allegiance to the caliph Yazīd,⁶⁰ and on the other hand the governor appointed in Egypt by 'Abd Allāh in AH 64 had to abandon Egypt already in the following year, we may take it that the seven years that [544] 'Urwa spent in Egypt fell in the time from AH 58–65.⁶¹ During 'Abd Allāh's anti-caliphate 'Urwa stood on his side; when his brother Muṣ'ab in AH 72 fell in battle for 'Abd Allāh, the administration of his inheritance devolved on 'Urwa,⁶² and even while 'Abd Allāh was besieged in Mecca he continued with him.⁶³ After 'Abd Allāh had fallen and his cause was lost (AH 73), 'Urwa straightaway betook himself to

⁵⁶[I.e. Mecca and Medina.]

⁵⁷[I.e. the provinces of both al-Baṣra and al-Kūfa.]

⁵⁸Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a'yān wa-anbā' abnā' al-zamān* (Cairo, AH 1299), I, 399:28–400:3 [(ed. 'Abbās), III, 258:6–15. Cf. the similar tale told of 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar; *ibid.* (ed. 'Abbās), III, 29:15–19.]

⁵⁹Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 217:19–218:1.

⁶⁰Al-Jumahlī, *Ṭabaqāt al-shu'arā'*, ed. Joseph Hell (Leiden, 1916), 35:19–23.

⁶¹[It is in fact unlikely that 'Urwa could have spent seven continuous years in Egypt; see von Stülpnagel, *'Urwa Ibn az-Zubair*, 13.]

⁶²*Aghānī*, [XIX, 127ult–128:1].

⁶³Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, XI (ed. Ahlwardt), 47:5–10 [= V (ed. Goitein), 362:8–11].

the court of the now-undisputed caliph 'Abd al-Malik, with whom, as we have already seen, he used to forgather regularly in the mosque of Medina in the last years of Mu'āwiya's reign. Concerning 'Urwa's journey to the court of 'Abd al-Malik we possess several in the main analogous accounts,⁶⁴ of which that of 'Abd Allāh ibn Fā'id may here be given:

'Urwa mounted a camel the like of which could not be outstripped, and reached Damascus before even the messengers of al-Ḥajjāj had brought the tidings of 'Abd Allāh's death. When he was admitted to the presence, he greeted 'Abd al-Malik as caliph, whereupon the latter embraced him and bade him be seated. 'Urwa said:

We seek to obtain alliance with thee through near kinship,
But no kinship is near unless it is brought near.

They then conversed till conversation turned to 'Abd Allāh. 'Urwa said: "Abū Bakr⁶⁵ has gone hence." "What has he done?" "He has been killed." Thereat 'Abd al-Malik fell upon the ground in worship. 'Urwa, however, went on: "Al-Ḥajjāj has crucified his body. Give him the order to restore the body to 'Abd Allāh's mother." Forthwith 'Abd al-Malik drew up a writing to al-Ḥajjāj wherein he spoke of the crucifying of 'Abd Allāh as a great wrong and ordered him to leave 'Urwa in peace, to whom he had promised security. 'Urwa returned to Mecca, which he reached in 30 days. Al-Ḥajjāj had 'Abd Allāh's body taken down from the cross and sent it to his mother, and 'Urwa recited the funeral prayer.

'Abd al-Malik himself treated 'Urwa with all the consideration that he could possibly expect but, as 'Urwa's son, Hishām, informs us, his father had reason to complain of the behaviour of some Damascenes. When 'Urwa was sitting with 'Abd al-Malik, some people came in who poured [545] out insults

⁶⁴Al-Wāqidī *apud* al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, XI (ed. Ahlwardt), 65:4–12; anon., *ibid.*, 61:8–17; 'Amir ibn Ḥafṣ, *ibid.*, 63:14–64:2; [al-Madā'inī from] 'Abd Allāh ibn [Fā'id], *ibid.*, 61ult–63:1 [= V (ed. Goitein), 370:3–10, 10–21, 371:9–13, 372:5–10].

⁶⁵That was 'Abd Allāh's *kunya* (pen-name). Al-Ḥajjāj's objection to its use in conversation with the caliph has already been quoted.

against 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr, whereupon 'Urwa left the room, saying to the chamberlain: "'Abd Allāh is my brother. When you wish to insult him, it would be better not to let me in." When 'Abd al-Malik heard that, he said: "We did not kill 'Abd Allāh through enmity against him, but he coveted a thing that we coveted and was killed in battle for it. The Syrians, however, are people who insult those they kill. When we have admitted someone who insults him before thou enterest, then thou hadst better stay outside; and if we admit someone while thou art sitting with us, then better go out."⁶⁶ Of further visits of 'Urwa to 'Abd al-Malik we hear nothing, though 'Abd al-Malik kept up a literary correspondence with 'Urwa after the latter's return to Medina.

Once again did 'Urwa betake himself to the court of Damascus after al-Walīd had succeeded to the realm, in AH 86,⁶⁷ accompanied by his son and the devoted friend of his house Ismā'il ibn Yasār.⁶⁸ During this second sojourn in Damascus 'Urwa was pursued by misfortune. His son Muḥammad tumbled from the roof of the royal stables, in which he wished to see the animals, and fell among the furious beasts who trampled him to death; and 'Urwa himself had to have his foot amputated owing to an eating away of the bone. The poem composed by Ismā'il ibn Yasār on the death of Muḥammad is preserved for us in the *Kitāb al-aghānī*,⁶⁹ and here we find also 'Urwa's son Hishām's account of these unlucky events:

When 'Urwa had gone to al-Walīd his foot hurt him and they said to him: "Cut it off!" He would not hear of it. Only when the wound spread towards the knee and people told him: "If it reaches the knee it will kill thee," was the foot amputated, without his clutching his face. Before the operation, people said to him: "We will give thee a medicine to drink, so that thou shalt feel no pain." He, however, replied: "To that I do not agree; this wall {on which I can lean} preserves me from harm. . . Muḥammad ibn 'Urwa, whose mother was the daughter of al-Ḥakam ibn al-Āṣ, fell from the roof into the stable of al-Walīd's beasts of burden, who struck him with their feet until he died. Then a man came to 'Urwa to

⁶⁶ *Aghānī*, [XVII, 241:2–11].

⁶⁷ Ibn Qutayba, *Kitāb al-ma'ārif*, ed. Ferdinand Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1850), 114:17–19 [(ed. 'Ukkāsha), 222:9–11]. 'Urwa died in AH 94.

⁶⁸ *Aghānī*, IV, [408:2–10, 409:1–7].

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, IV, [420:1–421:2].

condole with him. He, however, said: "If thou comest to condole with me about my foot, I hope to be compensated for its loss by Allāh." "No," said the man, "I wish to [546] condole with thee on account of Muḥammad." "What is wrong with him?" Then he related what had happened, whereupon 'Urwa said:

When the days again brought some dying men to earth
I used to say: "It is no matter, since it touches not my
kindred."

O God, Thou hast taken a limb, but other limbs remain; Thou hast taken a son but hast left other sons behind; and if Thou hast afflicted me, so didst Thou aforetime keep me whole." When he then returned to Medina he betook himself to his castle in al-'Aqīq.⁷⁰

A number of other testimonies give the same account of 'Urwa's amputation,⁷¹ among them the following:

Īsā ibn Ṭalḥa came to 'Urwa after his foot had been cut off. Then 'Urwa said to his son: "Uncover my foot for thine uncle, that he may see it." When that was done Īsā said: "Verily we are Allāh's and verily unto Him we are returning. O Abū 'Abd Allāh, we have developed thee neither for the tournament nor for the race, and Allāh has left that of thee which we require, [thy judgement and learning]."⁷² Then 'Urwa said: "No one has consoled me for my foot so finely."⁷³

'Urwa had several encounters with another member of the reigning dynasty, 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, during the years when 'Umar held the office of governor in Medina (AH 87–93). 'Urwa was one of the ten *fuqahā'* whom 'Umar called together after his installation,⁷⁴ and a judgment of the Prophet

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, [XVII, 241:12–242:5].

⁷¹ Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif*, 114:17–19 [(ed. 'Ukkāsha), 222:8–11]; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, I, 398:24–399:1 [(ed. 'Abbās), III, 256:2–15]; al-Dhahabī/Fischer, *Biographien*, 47:4–48:1].

⁷² [In the published English text: "thy knowledge and intelligence", reflecting the problems of double translation; in the Arabic (*Aghānī*, XVII, 242:12): *ra'yaka wa-'ilmaka*.]

⁷³ Ibn al-Mājjishūn in *Aghānī*, [XVII, 242:7–12].

⁷⁴ Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, II, 1183:2–3.

that 'Umar recited in the days when he was building the mosque of Medina (AH 88) is reported by 'Urwa in Ibn Sa'd.⁷⁵ He had, however, a violent disagreement with the governor when the latter called 'Urwa's contention that 'Ā'isha, except the Prophet and her parents, had loved no one so much as 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr, a lie.⁷⁶ 'Urwa himself had no inclination to exacerbate the internal contentions of the Islamic community, and this saying is ascribed to him: "Alī was too pious ever to have lent support to the murder of 'Uthmān, and 'Uthmān was too pious for 'Alī to have killed him."⁷⁷ With a great-grandson of 'Alī, 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (d. AH 92 or 94), 'Urwa used to forgather every evening in the back part of the Prophet's mosque; and of a conversation that [547] he once held with him, and in which 'Abd Allāh ibn Hasan took part, the last-named relates:

As we were talking one night,⁷⁸ the conversation turned upon the tyranny of the Umayyads while they had the power, and no one could do anything to change the state of things. Then spoke they of their fear of Allāh's chastisement, and 'Urwa said: "O 'Alī, he who holds himself aloof from tyranny, and of whom Allāh knows that he abhors their dealings, even though he in a certain sense incline to them, for him one can hope that, when Allāh punishes them, he will escape what may befall them." Thereupon 'Urwa left Medina and went to live in al-'Aqīq.⁷⁹ I, however, repaired to Suwayqa.⁸⁰

The expressions here ascribed to 'Urwa, concerning the—in the eyes of many pious persons—impious regime of the Umayyads, sound like a defence of his own conduct towards the rulers of Damascus, from whom he did not withhold his homage and with whom even from Medina he maintained relations.

⁷⁵Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III.1, 82:13–22.

⁷⁶*Aghānī*, [IX, 142:1–143:11].

⁷⁷Al-Mubarrad, *Al-Kāmil fī lughā wa-l-adab*, ed. William Wright (Leipzig, 1862–78), I, 444:6–7.

⁷⁸The talk takes place in the time of 'Abd al-Malik or al-Walīd.

⁷⁹In al-'Aqīq there was a well, known as the well of 'Urwa. See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 433pu–434:7; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif*, 114:19–20 [(ed. 'Ukkāsha), 222:11–12].

⁸⁰Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 135:2–10. [Suwayqa was a place near Medina where many of the descendents of 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib lived and owned property; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, III, 198:8–14.]

As to the year of 'Urwa's death we have no certain data; most of the authorities, however, give their verdict for the year AH 94.⁸¹ He died on his estate in Majāh in the neighbourhood of [al-Fura].⁸² Of his sons, Muḥammad and Hishām are named more than once in the foregoing. Besides them, we know the names of six other sons.⁸³

'Urwa enjoys high renown as an expert in *ḥadīth* and he is one of the seven *fuqahā'* of Medina. His relationships alone placed him in the position to obtain numerous accounts concerning the early days of Islam at first hand; from his father, from his mother, and above all from his aunt 'Ā'isha, whom he never tired of visiting and questioning.⁸⁴ Mujāhid tells us how he, together with 'Urwa, questioned Ibn 'Umar as to the number of the Prophet's *umras* and how, when his answer did not satisfy him, 'Urwa turned to 'Ā'isha, who then gave in fact another answer.⁸⁵

Among those who handed on the traditions collected by 'Urwa, his son Hishām and Muḥammad ibn Muslim ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī deserve special mention. We are indebted to his son Hishām for the statement that 'Urwa, on the day of the battle on the [548] Ḥarra (AH 63), in which Yazīd defeated the Medinans, burnt books of *fiqh* of which he afterwards much regretted the loss.⁸⁶ Concerning other books annotated by him or to be found in his possession we find no indications,⁸⁷ but he not only transmitted to his students the accounts he had collected in the name of the authorities from whom he had obtained them, but also imparted written instruction on the

⁸¹Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 135:12–14; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif*, 114:20–21 [(ed. 'Ukkāsha), 222:13]; al-Bukhārī, *Al-Ta'rikh al-ṣaḡīr*, [I, 232:1–2].

⁸²[In the published English text: "Fur'a"; see Yāqūt, *Buldān*, III, 877pu–878:11.]

⁸³Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif*, 114ult–115:1 [(ed. 'Ukkāsha), 222:15–16].

⁸⁴[On the authorities and teachers of 'Urwa, see Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj, *Rijāl 'Urwa ibn al-Zubayr wa-jamā'a min al-tābi'īn wa-ghayrihim*, ed. Kamāl al-Ḥūt (Beirut, 1996).]

⁸⁵Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, I, 1765pu–1766:7.

⁸⁶Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, [133:18–21; 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṣan'ānī, *Al-Muṣannaf*, ed. Ḥabīb al-Raḥmān al-A'zamī (Beirut, 1390–92/1970–72), XI, 425:7–9 no. 20,902. Scholars who possessed books sometimes had them destroyed upon their death, for fear that the normative custom of oral transmission would be subverted should a written text be available; see Schoeler, "Mündliche Thora," 216, 223. 'Urwa burned his "books" on a day in which many Medinans were killed, and presumably he did so in anticipation of his own imminent death; Cook, "Writing of Tradition," 480. For further observations on the battle of al-Ḥarra and its impact in Medina, see M.J. Kister, "The Battle of the Ḥarra: Some Socio-Economic Aspects," in Myriam Rosen-Ayalon, ed., *Studies in Memory of Gaston Wiet* (Jerusalem, 1977), 33–49; Rotter, *Die Umayyaden und der Zweite Bürgerkrieg*, 40–59.]

⁸⁷Al-Dhahabī/Fischer, *Biographien*, [40:1–48pu].

events of early Islamic history. A number of such written answers have come to us in the pages of Ibn Ishāq, al-Wāqidī and al-Ṭabarī. In the pieces preserved in al-Ṭabarī the person addressed is mostly the caliph 'Abd al-Malik, in the others Ibn Abī Hunayda, who lived at the court of the caliph al-Walīd. 'Abd al-Malik in his early years often sought the society of the *fuqahā*,⁸⁸ and as a young man was eagerly intent to assimilate knowledge.⁸⁹ He had the sayings of the caliph 'Uthmān by heart, and heard *ḥadīth* from Abū Hurayra, Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī and other Companions.⁹⁰ It is therefore not surprising that he turned to Medina, which he esteemed highly as the seat of Tradition,⁹¹ and sought instruction in the *maghāzī* from 'Urwa, whom he knew already as the best authority from his own sojourn in Medina, and who after the end of 'Abd Allāh's anti-caliphate had brought himself into favourable remembrance.⁹²

Of 'Urwa's answers to 'Abd al-Malik preserved by al-Ṭabarī the first fragment concerns the emigration to Abyssinia and is preceded by a detailed *isnād* of which the conclusion runs: "Abān al-'Aṭṭār told us, Hishām ibn 'Urwa told us of Urwa that the last-named wrote to 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān..."⁹³ In a second fragment we find the same *isnād* except that at the end it puts "the last-named said" and not "the last-named wrote to 'Abd al-Malik".⁹⁴ However, there can be no doubt but that we have here before us also an excerpt from the writings to 'Abd al-Malik, for this fragment is by its contents connected with the first; it goes on from the *hijra* to Abyssinia, which was caused by the first *fitna*, and adds the story of the *hijra* of the first Companions of the Prophet to Medina, which was caused by the second *fitna*. 'Urwa uses the expression *fitna* [549] in these passages on the strength of Sūrat al-Anfāl (8), v. 40, and he refers to the same Qur'ānic verse again in

⁸⁸Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 167:15–22.

⁸⁹*Ibid.*, V, 174:14–16.

⁹⁰*Ibid.*, V, 174:11–14.

⁹¹*Ibid.*, V, 173:8–15.

⁹²[On this correspondence and 'Abd al-Malik's relations with the scholars of Medina, see Caetani, *Annali dell'Islam*, I, 472 §30; von Stülpnagel, *'Urwa Ibn az-Zubair*, 61–83; Duri, *Rise of Historical Writing*, 25, 79, 80, 81–82, 83–84, 87, 88–89; Iḥsān 'Abbās, "'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān wa-dawruhu fī thaqāfat 'aṣrihi," *Dirāsāt* 13 (1986), 105–13; Cook, "Writing of Tradition," 480–81. The Arabic texts of the letters in this series, in the forms in which they survive in later sources, are given in Horovitz/Naṣṣār, *Al-Maghāzī al-ūla*, 136–40; Duri, *Nash'at 'ilm al-ta'rikh*, 138–42.]

⁹³Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, I, 1180:11–12.

⁹⁴*Ibid.*, I, 1224:8–11.

the next instalment, which relates the *hijra* of the Prophet himself.⁹⁵ There again the *isnād* is the same, except that here also it is "he said" and not "he wrote to 'Abd al-Malik", and all three passages are obviously taken from one and the same screed to 'Abd al-Malik. Further on we find it put more explicitly, after the same *isnād*: "Hishām ibn 'Urwa has told us of 'Urwa, that he wrote to 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān: 'Thou hast written to me concerning Abū Sufyān and his sortie, and askest me how he then conducted himself.'" ⁹⁶ Then follows a detailed account of the battle of Badr that begins with the words: "It so happened that Abū Sufyān" and so on. In this also 'Urwa refers frequently to Qur'ānic verses. Again, in a further fragment, the introduction runs: "Hishām ibn 'Urwa related to us of 'Urwa, that he wrote to 'Abd al-Malik: 'Thou hast written and asked me concerning the conduct of Khālīd ibn al-Walīd on the day of the conquest of Mecca,'" and the answer begins with the words "It was so with Khālīd," and so on.⁹⁷ When, therefore, in the next following fragment, after the same *isnād*, we find only "Hishām ibn 'Urwa relates of 'Urwa, that he said," and so on,⁹⁸ there is here too no doubt but that we have before us a further fragment of the letter in reply to 'Abd al-Malik; for the last words of the preceding fragment⁹⁹ stand verbatim at the beginning of this instalment; and a later instalment of the same reply to 'Abd al-Malik is obviously before us in a later passage.¹⁰⁰ Finally al-Ṭabarī has preserved for us also a short answer of 'Urwa to 'Abd al-Malik's inquiry as to the date of Khadīja's death,¹⁰¹ as also another to al-Walīd's question whether the Prophet ever married the sister of al-Ash'ath ibn Qays.¹⁰² While all these communications concerning 'Urwa's answers to the inquiries of 'Abd al-Malik and al-Walīd go back to his son Hishām, we owe to al-Zuhrī the text of the answer that 'Urwa addressed to Ibn Abī Hunayda,¹⁰³ the familiar friend of the caliph al-Walīd, who questioned him concerning Sūrat al-Mumtaḥana (60), v. 10, [550] and

⁹⁵*Ibid.*, I, 1234:15–19.

⁹⁶*Ibid.*, I, 1284:14–18.

⁹⁷*Ibid.*, I, 1634:1–5.

⁹⁸*Ibid.*, I, 1654:7–8.

⁹⁹*Ibid.*, I, 1636:4–5.

¹⁰⁰*Ibid.*, I, 1669:16–1670:1.

¹⁰¹*Ibid.*, I, 1770:8–17.

¹⁰²*Ibid.*, III, 2458:1–6.

¹⁰³Ibn Hishām, *Sīrat Rasūl Allāh*, ed. Ferdinand Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1858–60), I.2, 754:5–10; al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān fī tafsīr āy al-Qur'ān* (Cairo, AH 1321), [XXVIII, 42:28–34].

to whom 'Urwa expounded the historical situation to which that verse alludes.¹⁰⁴

The writings of 'Urwa here quoted represent the oldest written notes on particular events in the life of the Prophet preserved for us, and at the same time the oldest monuments of Arabic historical prose. Although nowhere in the older sources is it said that 'Urwa composed an actual book on the *maghāzī*,¹⁰⁵ it is none the less sure that he collected and set forth a series of the most important events of the Prophet's life.¹⁰⁶ Even from the fragments that have reached us it is clear that 'Urwa based his written answers on the traditions collected by him; for though he generally does not expressly name his sources in those answers, he makes an exception in the case of the account of the *hijra* of the Prophet when he designates it as founded on 'Ā'isha's communications.¹⁰⁷ Moreover he gives us to understand in places where he quotes sayings of the Prophet, that they became known to him in that way.¹⁰⁸ It is therefore incorrect to say that 'Urwa was an enemy to the custom of stating his sources; the letters themselves show that he followed it, even if in those writings he is only very little concerned with quoting authorities. *Isnād* in its primitive form was then—somewhere about the year AH 75—already established¹⁰⁹ and one has no right, merely because it appears only

¹⁰⁴['Urwa may in fact have been a stipendiary of the caliph al-Walīd ibn 'Abd al-Malik. See Abū Zur'a, *Ta'rikh*, I, 309:12–13, 522:8–10; cf. also I, 413:9–11, 572:8–11.]

¹⁰⁵Cf. Ḥājji Khalifa, *Kashf al-zunūn 'an asāmī l-kutub wa-l-funūn*, ed. Gustav Flügel (Leipzig and London, 1835–58), V, 646:9–10 no. 12,464 [ed. Şerefettin Yaltkaya and Kilisi Rifat Bilge (Istanbul, 1941–43), II, col. 1747:1–2. In the *Fihrist*, 110:11, a *Kitāb ma'ānī 'Urwa ibn al-Zubayr* is ascribed to Abū Ḥassān al-Ziyādī (d. 243/857), a traditionist and compiler, student of al-Wāqidī and Wakī', and *qādī* in Baghdad under al-Mutawakkil (r. 232–47/847–61). For *ma'ānī* one must surely read *maghāzī*, in which case al-Ziyādī would seem to have been a redactor/collector of *maghāzī* reports transmitted in 'Urwa's name.]

¹⁰⁶[More recently, scholars in the Arab world have inclined toward the view that 'Urwa did compose specific books, and have sought to reconstruct a *Kitāb al-maghāzī* of his from reports transmitted on his authority. See Muḥammad Muṣṭafā al-A'zamī, *Maghāzī Rasūl Allāh li-'Urwa ibn al-Zubayr* (Riyadh, 1981); Salwā Mursī al-Ṭāhirī, *Bidayat al-kitāba al-ta'rikhiyya 'inda l-'arab: auwal sīra fi l-Islām*, 'Urwa ibn al-Zubayr ibn al-'Awwām (Beirut, 1995). But cf. the review of this latter work by Māhir Jarrār in *Al-Abḥāth* 43 (1995), 135–38.]

¹⁰⁷Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, I, 1235:10, 1237:14.

¹⁰⁸*Ibid.*, I, 1287:7–8, 1288:5, 1635:3.

¹⁰⁹[The date at which the *isnād* first emerged is controversial. See Horovitz' "Die Alter und Ursprung des Isnād," 39–44 (trans. in *SEI*, Chap. 3). More recent discussions include Schacht, *Origins*, 37 (against Horovitz); G.H.A. Juynboll, "The Date of the Great *Fitna*," *Arabica* 20 (1973), 142–59; *idem*, *Muslim Tradition*, 9–76; Motzki, *Anfänge*, 262–64.]

incidentally in the letters, to deny to 'Urwa, without further consideration, those *aḥādīth* supplied with statements of authorities for which he stands as sponsor.

Of the importance of *ḥadīth* 'Urwa speaks more than once,¹¹⁰ and forgets not to remind his sons of the fact that by the knowledge of *ḥadīth* they can render themselves indispensable;¹¹¹ and his son Hishām informs us that 'Urwa never counted on his judgment (*ra'y*) but only on the tradition.¹¹² *Aḥādīth* of 'Urwa have come down to us in great number; above all his son Hishām and al-Zuhrī have transmitted them, and we find them in the *ḥadīth* collections as well as in the works of *sīra* literature. Ibn Ishāq, al-Wāqidī, Ibn Sa'd and al-Ṭabarī especially have preserved for us numerous traditions of 'Urwa, and the oldest biographies of the Prophet that we possess derive a very great part of their material from his collections.¹¹³ If some [551] of these reports may be wrongly associated with his name, still we have no reason to deny his claim to most of them. In these reports also 'Ā'isha is most often quoted as authority, besides her other men and women of the Prophet's time; there are, however, a great number of traditions for which 'Urwa gives no authority. *Isnād* was, indeed, already customary in his time, but it was not yet an absolute necessity.¹¹⁴ Besides, 'Urwa also used written documents as his sources; thus, for example, he quotes the text of the letter that the Prophet addressed to the inhabitants of Hajar.¹¹⁵ The reports that are traced back to 'Urwa concern all periods of the Prophet's life and, over and above that, also events of the time of the first caliphs.¹¹⁶

It would be an error to suppose that 'Urwa confined his attention exclusively to the collection of the sayings of the Prophet and the reports concerning his life. Though he was a strict *faqīh* and *muḥaddīth*—and we have seen that the same applies to many of his colleagues—he was in nowise averse to poetry. Abū l-Zinād says of him:

¹¹⁰Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 133:18–22.

¹¹¹Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, VII, 182:10–13.

¹¹²*Ibid.*, VII, [182:13–14].

¹¹³[Since Horovitz' time, especially rich *sīra* materials cited on 'Urwa's authority have become available in al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh al-Islām*; cf. the indices to I: *Al-Sīra al-nabawīya*, 653, and II: *Al-Maghāzī*, 789–90.]

¹¹⁴[On 'Urwa's use of the *isnād*, see Horovitz, "Die Alter und Ursprung des Isnād," 43 (trans. in *SEI*, Chap. 3). Cf. also 63 n. 149 below.]

¹¹⁵Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 79:15–80:4, [as also *ibid.*, 69pu–70:8].

¹¹⁶[Cf. especially al-Fasawī, *Al-Ma'rifa wa-l-ta'rikh*, III, 296:2–6, 309:12–14; Abū Zur'a, *Ta'rikh*, I, 183:7–184:3, 190:5–8, 309:9–11, 418:15–17, 583:3–8.]

I never saw anyone who recited verses more than 'Urwa. People said to him: "What a lot you recite, O Abū 'Abd Allāh!" He, however, replied: "What is what I recite compared with what 'Ā'isha recites? Nothing came in touch with her on which she did not recite an ode."¹¹⁷

Even if the introduction of 'Ā'isha's example was unjustified,¹¹⁸ and only to serve the purpose of furnishing a proof of the admissibility of the use of poetical quotations in the *maghāzī*,¹¹⁹ there can at least be no doubt but that 'Urwa was a friend of poetry. He stood in friendly relations to the poet Ismā'il ibn Yasār,¹²⁰ whom he took with him when he went to the court of 'Abd al-Malik and al-Walīd, and who composed an ode on 'Urwa's son Muḥammad. He was also on friendly terms with the renowned love-poet of Quraysh, [Umar]¹²¹ ibn Abī Rabī'a,¹²² while he had no good opinion of the personal poet of the Prophet, Ḥassān ibn Thābit.¹²³ Moreover, the taste for poetry extended to other members of the family of 'Urwa: his brother 'Abd Allāh, who was accused of having given out verses of Ma'n ibn Aws as his own,¹²⁴ proves himself a doughty [552] connoisseur of poetry;¹²⁵ his brother Ja'far was known as a poet and has a special article in the *Kitāb al-aghānī* in which verses also are preserved that he addressed to 'Urwa.¹²⁶ Of 'Urwa himself the *Kitāb al-aghānī* preserves an ironical verse that he wrote against 'Ā'isha bint Ṭalḥa on the occasion of her pilgrimage.¹²⁷ But even in the historical reports that go back to him 'Urwa is not ashamed to transmit verses that are ascribed to those who took part in the events.¹²⁸ There is therefore some truth in the statement of Abū l-Zinād, and we may take it

¹¹⁷ Al-Dhahabī/Fischer, *Biographien*, 46:16–17; [Duri, *Rise of Historical Writing*, 93–94].

¹¹⁸ [The argument of the reference to 'Ā'isha is based on the fact that she is often named as 'Urwa's informant; if his traditions contain verse, it is simply because he is transmitting what he has from her.]

¹¹⁹ [This was in fact a matter of controversy in early Islamic times. See M.J. Kister, "Sīra Literature".]

¹²⁰ *Aghānī*, IV, [408:4–5, 8, 409:4].

¹²¹ [In the published English text: "'Urwa'".]

¹²² *Ibid.*, I, [146:10–147:5].

¹²³ *Ibid.*, IV, [165:13–166:5].

¹²⁴ Al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, I, 356ult–357:10.

¹²⁵ Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, II, 397:9–13.

¹²⁶ *Aghānī*, [XV, 4:1–11ult].

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, [XI, 188:3–5].

¹²⁸ Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, I, 2348:2–7; *Aghānī*, III, [120:11–121ult].

that 'Urwa, even in the traditions concerning the life of the Prophet that he transmitted to his [students],¹²⁹ allowed verses of the participants to slip in,¹³⁰ as Ibn Ishāq did later.¹³¹

In contrast to Abān and 'Urwa, who both belonged to the Islamic noblesse, the next name to be mentioned in the history of the *maghāzī* literature is that of a slave, Shuraḥbīl ibn Sa'd, a *mawlā* of the Madanī stock of the Banū Khaṭma.¹³² He is said to have known 'Alī (d. AH 36)¹³³ and died in AH 123, more than a hundred years old, so it is said.¹³⁴ Among the Companions of the Prophet from whom he derived traditions are named Zayd ibn Thābit, Abū Hurayra and Abū Sa'id al-Khudrī;¹³⁵ and of his sojourn on Zayd ibn Thābit's estate at al-Aswāf Shuraḥbīl himself speaks.¹³⁶ Mūsā ibn

¹²⁹ [In this study Pickthall routinely translates "Schüler" as "scholar", though Horovitz always uses the word in the more specific sense of "student".]

¹³⁰ [E.g. al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 11:12–12:4.]

¹³¹ [As the issue of citation of and attitudes toward poetry among the transmitters and compilers interested in the career of Muḥammad will arise frequently in this study, it is worth noting here that there is a difference between, on the one hand, a fondness for poetry and a willingness to recite it, and, on the other, acceptance of verse as historical evidence. See, for example, al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Muwaffaqiyāt*, 182:2–3; Ibn Ḥamdūn, *Tadhkira*, III, 18ult–19:2, where a Baṣran tradition has 'Urwa sitting with colleagues by the Ka'ba in Mecca happily engrossed in the recitation of poetry, while elsewhere, in Abū Zur'a, *Ta'rikh*, I, 144ult–146:2, 'Urwa rejects the report of a certain tradent, saying that the latter was only following what a poet had said (*innamā akhadhahu min qawli l-shā'ir*).]

¹³² [SOURCES: Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 228:1–5; Yaḥyā ibn Ma'in, *Ta'rikh*, II, 249:12–18; Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, *Ṭabaqāt*, 265:4; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Al-'Ilal wa-ma'rifat al-rijāl*, II, 599:2–3 no. 3839; al-Bukhārī, *Al-Ta'rikh al-kabīr*, II.2, 251:11–14 no. 2698; al-Dūlābī, *Al-Kunā wa-l-asmā'*, I, 186:10–187:10; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Al-Jarḥ wa-l-ta'dīl*, II.1, 338:10–339:11 no. 1486; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Thiqāt*, IV, 365:2–5; *idem*, *Mashāḥir 'ulamā' al-amṣār*, 77:15–16 no. 555; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 269:6–9; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, XII, 413pu–417:13 no. 2714; al-Dhahabī, *Mizān al-i'tidāl fī naqd al-rijāl*, ed. 'Alī Muḥammad al-Bijāwī (Cairo, 1382/1963), II, 266:11–267:2 no. 3682; *idem*, *Al-Mughnī fī l-ḍu'afā'*, ed. Nūr al-Dīn 'Itr (Aleppo, 1391/1971), I, 296:15–16 no. 2755; *idem*, *Ta'rikh al-islām*, AH 121–40, 129:1–16; al-Safādī, *Al-Wafī bi-l-wafayāt*, XVI, 130:8–131:3 no. 152; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, IV, 320pu–322:7 no. 552.

MODERN STUDIES: Sachau, "Einleitung," xix–xx; Fück, *Muḥammad ibn Ishāq*, 8; GAS, I, 279; al-Ziriklī, *Al-A'lām*, III, 159b; Duri, *Rise of Historical Writing*, 26–27; Donner, *Narratives of Islamic Origins*, 219, 301.]

¹³³ Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, IV, 322:5.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, IV, 322:4–5.

¹³⁵ Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 228:2–3; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, IV, [320ult]; August Fischer, "Neue Auszüge aus ad-Dahabī und Ibn an-Naḡḡār," *ZDMG* 44 (1890), 412:17–18.

¹³⁶ Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 269:6–9.

'Uqba attests that Shuraḥbīl wrote down lists of the names of the emigrants to Medina and of the men who took part in the battles of Badr and Uhud;¹³⁷ and Sufyān ibn 'Uyayna declares that no one possessed better information regarding the *maghāzī* and the Badr-fights than he.¹³⁸ In old age, however, he became confused,¹³⁹ and because he was needy no one trusted him; that is to say people feared that, if he visited anyone who made him no present, he would say: "Thy father was not present at Badr."¹⁴⁰ Or, [553] as it is expressed in another place:

Shuraḥbīl was among those best versed in the *maghāzī*, but people suspected that he was capable of adjudicating eminence in Islamic history to those who had no claim to it. He was in fact needy, and on that account people dropped his *maghāzī*.¹⁴¹

When Mūsā ibn 'Uqba heard these charges he said: "People have grown bitter against this man who on account of his great age drags a painful existence." While Mūsā ibn 'Uqba thus took his part Ibn Ishāq, it seems, behaved towards him with aversion and to the question, what traditions he had taken from Shuraḥbīl, replied: "Does anyone accept traditions from Shuraḥbīl?"¹⁴² Elsewhere also the verdicts on Shuraḥbīl are mostly unfavourable, but not all judge so, and Ibn Ḥibbān quotes him among the *thiqāt* ["reliable authorities"].¹⁴³ Neither Ibn Ishāq nor al-Wāqidī ever mentions him; Ibn Sa'd, on the contrary, borrows from him a report concerning the emigration of the Prophet from Qubā' to Medina.¹⁴⁴ Shuraḥbīl in this passage furnishes no *isnād*, from which, however, it cannot be concluded that that was his way on other occasions. On the other hand it is clear from this quotation that he did not confine himself to the *maghāzī* in the strictest sense.

The three experts in the *maghāzī* with whom we have hitherto dealt—Abān, 'Urwa and Shuraḥbīl—were of Medina and spent their lives in their native city; the fourth, on the contrary, Wahb ibn Munabbih, who is numbered among the *tābi'ūn* and belonged to the same generation, was a south

Arabian of Persian origin.¹⁴⁵ He sprang from one of the Persian families that

¹⁴⁵[SOURCES: Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 395:18–396:7; Yahyā ibn Ma'īn, *Ta'rikh*, II, 636pu–637:2; Ibn Abī Shayba, *Al-Muṣannaf fī l-ḥadīth wa-l-āthār*, ed. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Salām Shāhīn (Beirut, 1995), VII, 191:8–192ult nos. 35,157–67; Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, *Ta'rikh*, II, 354:9; *idem*, *Ṭabaqāt*, 287:16–17; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Al-'Ilal wa-ma'rifat al-rijāl*, IV, 338:9–22; al-Bukhārī, *Al-Ta'rikh al-kabīr*, IV.2, 164:3–9 no. 2565; *idem*, *Al-Ta'rikh al-awsaṭ*, I, 399:6 no. 907, 418:8–11 no. 939; *idem*, *Al-Ta'rikh al-ṣaghīr*, I, 252:9–10, 274:5–8; al-'Ijlī, *Ta'rikh al-thiqāt*, 467:4–8 no. 1786; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif* (ed. 'Ukkāsha), 459:6–12; al-Fasawī, *Al-Ma'rifa wa-l-ta'rikh*, II, 28:10–11, 29:4–30:3; Abū Zur'a, *Ta'rikh*, I, 295:1–4; Wakī', *Akhbār al-quḍāt*, I, 69:11–70:3; II, 303ult–304:2; al-Dūlābī, *Al-Kunā wa-l-asmā'*, I, 62:21–63:1; Ibn Abī Ḥatīm, *Al-Jarḥ wa-l-ta'dīl*, IV.2, 24:9–12 no. 110; al-Azdī, *Ta'rikh al-Mawṣil*, ed. 'Alī Ḥabība (Cairo, 1387/1967), 29ult–30:1, 35:5–9, 85ult–86:7; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, III, 365:15–366:10 no. 2115; IV, 39:6–7 no. 2214, 39pu–40:2 no. 2215; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Thiqāt*, V, 487:12–488:7; *idem*, *Mashāhīr 'ulamā' al-amṣār*, 122ult–123:3 no. 956; Abū Nu'aym, *Hilyat al-awliyā'*, IV, 23:17–81ult no. 250; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghādī, *Al-Sābiq wa-l-lāḥiq fī tabā'ud mā bayna wafāt rawiyyayn 'an shaykh wāḥid*, ed. Muḥammad ibn Maṭar al-Zahrāwī (Riyadh, 1402/1982), 313:3–4; al-Shīrāzī, *Ṭabaqāt al-fuqahā'*, 74:5–6; Ibn al-Qaysarānī, *Jam'*, II, 541:11–15 no. 2107; Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh madīnat Dimashq*, LXIII, 366:1–403:13 no. 8076; al-Ja'dī, *Ṭabaqāt fuqahā' al-Yaman*, ed. Fu'ād Sayyid (Beirut, 1981), 57:1–10; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntazam*, VII, 115:12, 140:16–142ult no. 603; *idem*, *Ṣifat al-ṣafwa*, II, 164:11–167:12; Yāqūt, *Irshād al-arīb ilā ma'rifat al-adīb*, ed. D.S. Margoliouth, 2nd ed. (Leiden and London, 1923–31), VII, 232:4–17 no. 138; Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī l-ta'rikh*, V, 176:1; al-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-asmā'*, 619:13–19; Ibn Khalīkān, *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, VI, 35:1–36ult no. 772; al-Yāfī'ī, *Mir'āt al-janān*, I, 248:17–249:2; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, XXXI, 140:10–162:7 no. 6767; al-Dhahabī, *Mizān al-i'tidāl*, IV, 352:16–353:16 no. 9433; *idem*, *Al-Mughnī fī l-qu'afā'*, 727:8–9 no. 6908; *idem*, *Tadhkirat al-huffāz*, I, 100:18–101:13 no. 93; *idem*, *Ta'rikh al-islām*, AH 101–120, 497:1–500ult no. 599; *idem*, *Siyar al-'ām al-nubalā'*, IV, 544:8–557:1 no. 219; Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya*, IX, 276:5–302:11; Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, XI, 166ult–168:15 no. 288; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, I, 150:1–23.

MODERN STUDIES: Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtschreiber* 4 no. 16; Mark Lidzbarski, *De prophetis quae dicuntur legendis arabicis* (Leipzig, 1893), 2–5, 44–54; Clément Huart, "Wahb ben Monabbih et la tradition judéo-chrétienne au Yémen," *JA*, Série 10, 4 (1904), 331–50; Fück, *Muḥammad ibn Ishāq*, 4–7; J. Horowitz, art. "Wahb ibn Munabbih" in *EI*¹, IV (Leiden, 1934), 1084a–1085b; GAL, SI, 101; Abbott, *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri*, I, 9–10; 'Umar Riḍā Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'jam al-mu'allifin: muṣannifi l-kutub al-'arabiya* (Damascus, 1957–61), XIII, 174a; Jones, "Muqaddima," 21–22; Caskel, *Ġamharat an-nasab*, I, Chart 269; II, 583a; GAS, I, 305–307; Faruqi, *Early Muslim Historiography*, 92–111; Raif Georges Khoury, *Wahb b. Munabbih* (Wiesbaden, 1972); al-Ziriklī, *Al-A'lām*, VIII, 125c–126a; Duri, *Rise of Historical Writing*, 30–32, 122–35; Josef van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra. Eine Geschichte des religiösen Denkens im frühen Islam* (Berlin, 1991–95), II, 702–705; Khalidi, *Arabic Historical Thought*, 70–71; Donner, *Narratives of Islamic Origins*, 148, 156, 159, 196, 223–24, 301; R.G. Khoury, art. "Wahb ibn Munabbih" in *EI*², XI (Leiden, 2000), 34a–36a.]

¹³⁷Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, X, 361:14–18.

¹³⁸*Ibid.*, IV, 321:6–7.

¹³⁹Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 228:3–4.

¹⁴⁰Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, IV, 321:8–9.

¹⁴¹Fischer, "Neue Auszüge," 437:13–14.

¹⁴²Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, IV, 321:12–13.

¹⁴³[*Ibid.*, IV, 321:17–18.]

¹⁴⁴Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I.1, 160:13–20.

in pre-Islamic times, under the rule of Khusraw Anūshirwān, had settled in southern Arabia and were known as *abnā'*;¹⁴⁶ Wahb's great-grandfather bears also the Persian name Uswār. According to a plainly erroneous statement of al-Wāqidī, Wahb had embraced Islam in the year AH 10,¹⁴⁷ which would presuppose that he was already born before the *hijra*. In like manner the statement of 'Abd Allāh ibn Salām preserved in the *Fihrist* is unreliable: that Wahb had belonged to the *ahl al-kitāb* who accepted Islam.¹⁴⁸ It is much more probable that he was born a Muslim, and [554] perhaps the statement of al-Wāqidī refers not to Wahb but to his father Munabbih, who might have embraced Islam in the year 10. There is no real reason to doubt the statement that he was born in the year AH 34,¹⁴⁹ which agrees with what we otherwise know of his life. Dhimār near Ṣan'a' is named as his birthplace, and of his brothers, Hammām, Ma'qil and Ghaylān are mentioned. There is mention in al-Tha'labī of a conversation of Mu'āwiya with Wahb,¹⁵⁰ and the caliph al-Walīd, when he found a stone with a foreign inscription on it, while building the mosque at Damascus (in AH 87), is said to have sent it to Wahb for deciphering.¹⁵¹ Wahb held for a time the post of *qāḍī* in his native city, and Simāk ibn al-Faḍl reports an incident of that time:

We were with 'Urwa ibn Muḥammad, the *amīr* of Yemen,¹⁵² at whose side was Wahb. When people came who complained of their *'āmil* and reported ill of him, Wahb gripped a staff that

¹⁴⁶[I.e. Yemenis descended from Persian troops sent to southern Arabia in pre-Islamic times. See Theodor Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden* (Leiden, 1879), 221 n. 4; Khoury, *Wahb b. Munabbih*, 189–90.]

¹⁴⁷Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, I, 1763:15.

¹⁴⁸[*Fihrist*, 22:5–6.]

¹⁴⁹Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, XI, 168:9–10.

¹⁵⁰[Al-Tha'labī, *Qisha' al-anbiyā' al-musammā bi-'arā'is al-majālis* (Cairo, 1325/1907), 192:35–36.]

¹⁵¹Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murāj al-dhahab wa-ma'ādin al-jawhar* (Cairo, AH 1303), II, 109:6–13 [(ed. Pellat), III, 365ult–366:10 no. 2115].

¹⁵²The name of this *amīr* of the Yemen seems not to be otherwise known. Perhaps his term of office fell between AH 57–73, when we do not know the names of the governors of Yemen. ['Urwa ibn Muḥammad al-Sa'dī governed Yemen from 91/715 to 101/720; he was appointed by Sulaymān ibn 'Abd al-Malik and was confirmed in office by 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz. See 'Abd al-Muhsin Mad'aj M. al-Mad'aj, *The Yemen in Early Islam* (9–233/630–847): a Political History (London, 1988), 170.]

was in ['Urwa's]¹⁵³ hand and with it smote upon the head of the *'āmil* till it ran blood. Then 'Urwa laughed and said: "[Abū 'Abd Allāh]¹⁵⁴ blames us for our anger. He, himself, however, allows himself to be carried away by rage." Wahb replied: "How should I not be transported with rage, when even He who created the dreams feels anger and has said:¹⁵⁵ 'When they irritated Us, We punished them.'"¹⁵⁶

That Wahb here designates Allāh especially as the creator of dreams comes from the fact that he attached peculiar importance to dreams and was reputed to have "true dreams". Later he lost that faculty, as he himself thought, because he had accepted the office of *qāḍī*.¹⁵⁷ Wahb was not alone in that intuition; we often hear of pious men who were loth to accept an office in the exercise of which they feared to jeopardise the welfare of their souls. Elsewhere also Wahb is depicted as a man of an ascetic way of life and thought;¹⁵⁸ for forty years he is said never to have uttered a curse against any living creature, never to have slept on a carpet and to have performed no *wuḍū'* between the *'ishā'* and the *ṣubḥ* prayers.¹⁵⁹ Wahb is said to have been for a time an adherent of the doctrine of the *qadar*,¹⁶⁰ but later to have rejected it as [555] contrary to Revelation.¹⁶¹ In the year AH 100 he was in Mecca¹⁶² and there met a number of renowned *fuqahā'*. Quite in the last

¹⁵³[In the published English text: "his"; in the Arabic (Fischer, "Neue Auszüge," 440:4): *fī yadi 'Urwa*.]

¹⁵⁴[In the published English text: "Wahb"; corrected to follow the Arabic text, which gives the *kunya*.]

¹⁵⁵Sūrat al-Zukhruf (43), v. 55.

¹⁵⁶Fischer, "Neue Auszüge", 440:1–7.

¹⁵⁷*Ibid.*, 440:7–10.

¹⁵⁸*Ibid.*, 439:7–9; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 396:1–5.

¹⁵⁹[Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 396:1–5. I.e. between dusk and dawn he did nothing (sexual abstinence seems to be implied) that would require that he repurify himself for prayer in the morning.]

¹⁶⁰[Al-Fasawī, *Al-Ma'rifa wa-l-ta'rikh*, II, 281:9–12;] Yāqūt, *Irshād al-arīb*, VII, 232:8–14; Fischer, "Neue Auszüge", 440:10–12.

¹⁶¹[On the early doctrine of *qadar*, see Michael Cook, *Early Muslim Dogma*, 105–52; Josef van Ess, *Anfänge muslimischer Theologie. Zwei antiqadaritische Traktate aus dem ersten Jahrhundert der Hīra* (Wiesbaden, 1977); *idem*, *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, I, 24–25, 72–135, 229–33; II, 50–121, 202–206, 643–55, 668–700. Wahb's views on the matter are discussed in Khoury, *Wahb b. Munabbih*, 206, 270–72, 314; van Ess, *Anfänge*, 221–22; *idem*, *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, II, 704–705.]

¹⁶²Fischer, "Neue Auszüge", 440:13–14.

years of his life came his imprisonment, of the reasons of which we learn nothing, but which Wahb with his pious character endorsed: "Allāh has decreed imprisonment for us, but we are all the more devoted to His service."¹⁶³ The imprisonment was evidently the result of an order of the governor Yūsuf ibn 'Umar al-Thaqafī, who ruled the Yemen from AH 106 to 120 and, in AH 110, also for unknown reasons, had Wahb flogged to death.¹⁶⁴

Wahb is universally recognised as a reliable transmitter, and he is said to have handed on traditions of Ibn al-'Abbās, Jābir, Abū Hurayra and others. He seems, however, in contradistinction to the *tābi'ūn* of Medina, only seldom to have appealed to his sureties. Al-Bukhārī has indeed preserved a *ḥadīth* that Wahb traces back by way of his brother Hammām to Abū Hurayra, but in the numerous quotations that elsewhere in Arabic literature are ascribed to Wahb the *isnād* is hardly even found.¹⁶⁵ Wahb differs from his Medinan fellow-countrymen also in this: that he takes especial interest in the traditions of the *ahl al-kitāb*; and before we go into the subject of the *Maghāzī* of Wahb we must bestow a glance upon the other writings ascribed to him, which concern in particular the history of the *ahl al-kitāb* or that of Wahb's south Arabian home. Wahb's intimate acquaintance with the traditions of the *ahl al-kitāb* is supported by statements that he had read 70, 72, 73, or 92 of their sacred writings.¹⁶⁶ If such assertions deserve no credence, as the lists of the alleged sacred writings show, it is none the less sure that Wahb, by his relations with his Jewish and Christian countrymen, who were found in great numbers in south Arabia, had gained a knowledge of the contents of their holy scriptures. Many of Wahb's data agree, in fact, perfectly with the Jewish and Christian sources, while others differ from them.¹⁶⁷

His statements cover the whole domain of "Narratives of the Prophets, of the Pious and of the Banū Isrā'īl", to use an expression of Ibn Sa'd,¹⁶⁸ and

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 442:9-11.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 442:8-9; Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, [XI, 168:12]. For the year of Wahb's death see also Yāqūt, *Irshād al-arīb*, VII, 232:16-17, and Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 396:5-7.

¹⁶⁵ Al-Ṭabarī is an exception; *Ta'rikh*, I, 416:12-417:1.

¹⁶⁶ Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, [395:19-396:1]; Lidzbarski, 44-54.

¹⁶⁷ [Cf. Georges Vajda, "Observations sur quelques citations bibliques chez Ibn Qutayba," *REJ* 99 (1935), 75-86; Gérard Lecomte, "Les citations de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament dans l'oeuvre d'Ibn Qutayba," *Arabica* 5 (1958), 34-46; *idem*, *Ibn Qutayba: l'homme, son oeuvre, ses idées* (Damascus, 1965), 77, 192-94; Duri, *Rise of Historical Writing*, 126; Said Karoui, *Die Rezeption der Bibel in der frühislamischen Literatur, am Beispiel der Hauptwerke von Ibn Qutayba (gest. 276/889)* (Heidelberg, 1997).]

¹⁶⁸ Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII.2, 97:10.

were passed on to posterity by his [students], [556] among whom were found some other members of his family. In particular his grandson 'Abd al-Mun'im has deserved well on account of the preservation of Wahb's collected material, and Wahb's *Kitāb al-mubtada'*, which, al-Tha'labī, for example, makes use of in 'Abd al-Mun'im's version in his *'Arā'is al-majālis*,¹⁶⁹ is ascribed to the latter as author in the *Fihrist*.¹⁷⁰ As for the title *Al-Mubtada'* [the "Beginning"], it refers to *Mubtada' al-khalq* ["Beginning of Creation"];¹⁷¹ the treatise however envisages not only the history of the origin of mankind according to the biblical traditions, but also the *qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* and so the previous history of Revelation.¹⁷² Especially for the *qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* Wahb ranks as one of the chief authorities, but he also, according to Ibn Sa'd, dealt with the *'ubbād*, the saints who did not reach the rank of Prophets; and when Ḥājji Khalifa also ascribed to Wahb a treatise on the *Qīṣaṣ al-akhyār*,¹⁷³ we may perhaps identify those *akhyār* ["virtuous men"] with the *'ubbād* of Ibn Sa'd.

Ḥājji Khalifa also ascribes to Wahb a *Kitāb al-isrā'īliyyāt*, which does not appear to have been known by that name in older times.¹⁷⁴ Yāqūt, for exam-

¹⁶⁹ [See the detailed discussion in Khoury, *Wahb b. Munabbih*, I, 184-85, 222-46.]

¹⁷⁰ *Fihrist*, 94:9.

¹⁷¹ See Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif*, 4:8 [(ed. 'Ukkāsha), 3:7], where *mubtada' al-khalq wa-qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* is named as the first *fann* under *funūn al-ma'ārif*.

¹⁷² [On the *qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* ("tales of the ancient prophets") literature, see D. Sidersky, *Les origines des légendes musulmanes dans le Coran et dans les vies des prophètes* (Paris, 1933); Franz Rosenthal, "The Influence of the Biblical Tradition on Muslim Historiography," in Bernard Lewis and P.M. Holt, eds., *Historians of the Middle East* (London, 1962), 35-45; Tilman Nagel, *Die Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'. Ein Beitrag zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte* (Bonn, 1967); J. Pauliny, "Einige Bemerkungen zu den Werken *Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* in der arabischen Literatur," *Gr.Or.* 1 (1969), 111-23; *idem*, "Zur Rolle der *Qūṣṣāṣ* bei der Entstehung und Überlieferung der populären Prophetenlegenden," *AAS* 10 (1974), 125-41; Raif Georges Khoury, *Les légendes prophétiques dans l'Islam depuis le Ier jusqu'au IIIe siècle de l'hégire* (Wiesbaden, 1978); James E. Lindsay, "'Alī ibn 'Asākir as a Preserver of *Qīṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*: the Case of David b. Jesse," *SI* 82 (1995), 45-82.]

¹⁷³ Ḥājji Khalifa, IV, 518:3 no. 9436 [(ed. Yaltkaya and Bilge), II, col. 1328:16].

¹⁷⁴ [*Ibid.*, V, 40ult no. 9826; (ed. Yaltkaya and Bilge), II, col. 1390:13-14. On the *Isrā'īliyyāt*, or "tales of the Israelites", see Ignaz Goldziher, "Mélanges judeo-arabes: *Isrā'īliyyāt*," *REJ* 44 (1902), 62-66; G.H.A. Juynboll, *The Authenticity of the Tradition Literature: Discussions in Modern Egypt* (Leiden, 1969), 121-38; Ramzī al-Na'na'a, *Al-Isrā'īliyyāt wa-āthāruhā fī kutub al-tafsīr* (Beirut and Damascus, 1390/1970); Reuven Firestone, *Journeys in Holy Lands: the Evolution of the Abraham-Ishmael Legends in Islamic Exegesis* (Albany, 1990); Jacob Lassner, *The Demonization of the Queen of Sheba: Boundaries of Gender and Discourse in Postbiblical Judaism and Medieval Islam* (Chicago,

ple, only says of it that Wahb "took much from the old books that are known as *Isrā'īlīyāt*,"¹⁷⁵ and therefore uses the expression only to designate the Israelitish sources of Wahb. Probably the treatise thus named by Ḥājjī Khalīfa is identical with the *Kitāb al-mubtada'* and only received the designation of *Isrā'īlīyāt* in later times.¹⁷⁶ Anyhow, in later writers are found a series of quotations from a treatise by Wahb entitled *Isrā'īlīyāt*, but, as a great deal is attributed to him that does not belong to him, little reliance can be placed on these statements, and anyhow they do not suffice to reconstruct the alleged *Isrā'īlīyāt* of Wahb—if he ever really wrote a book with that title—as V. Chauvin has tried to do.¹⁷⁷ It is certain that Wahb in his *Mubtada'* used not only Jewish but also Christian traditions, as the numerous quotations in Ibn Qutayba, al-Ṭabarī, al-Mas'ūdī, al-Tha'labī and others, indicate. Even the statements ascribed to him in such works of the older time as often as not, to say the truth, contradict each other; evidently his statements must early have undergone all sorts of alterations in the various rescripts, and it [557] is certain that later there was no hesitation about investing all sorts of tales of questionable origin with the authority of his name. Ibn Qutayba even points out certain contradictions that exist between certain statements of Wahb and the original text of Genesis,¹⁷⁸ although we see from the quotations in Ibn Hishām¹⁷⁹ with what accuracy Wahb reproduces the biblical text. The explanation of such contradictions is that either the accounts collected by Wahb were transformed by those who further published them in the sense of the popular story-tellers,¹⁸⁰ or that Wahb himself undertook such a transformation.

1993).]

¹⁷⁵Yāqūt, *Irshād al-arīb*, [VII], 232:6.

¹⁷⁶[Cf. Khoury, *Wahb b. Munabbih*, I, 205.]

¹⁷⁷Victor Chauvin, *La récénsion égyptienne des Mille et une nuits* (Brussels, 1899), 57–58. [Cf. Khoury, *Wahb b. Munabbih*, I, 224–26.]

¹⁷⁸[Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif* (ed. 'Ukkāsha), 17:1–33:7.]

¹⁷⁹[Cf. R.G. Khoury, "Quelques réflexions sur les citations de la Bible dans les premières générations islamiques du premier et du deuxième siècles de l'hégire," *BEO* 19 (1977–78), 269–78.]

¹⁸⁰[On the tradition of the early Islamic tellers of didactic and moralising tales, see Johannes Pedersen, "The Islamic Preacher," in Joseph de Somogyi, ed., *Ignace Goldziher Memorial Volume* (Budapest, 1948), I, 226–51; *idem*, "The Criticism of the Islamic Preacher," *WI*, Neue Serie, 2 (1953), 215–31; Khalil Athamina, "Al-Qaṣaṣ: Its Emergence, Religious Origin, and its Socio-Political Impact on Early Muslim Society," *SI* 76 (1992), 53–74. The broader context of early Islamic piety is assessed in Donner, *Narratives of Islamic Origins*, 64–97.]

In a special treatise, "The Book of the Crowned Kings of Ḥimyar and Reports and Stories concerning them and their Sepulchres and their Poems,"¹⁸¹ Wahb treated of the legendary ancient history of his homeland of the Yemen. This treatise has not come down to us. It is, however, evidently that from which Ibn Hishām borrowed the introduction to his hitherto unpublished *Kitāb al-tījān*.¹⁸² In the script of Wahb used by Ibn Hishām, Wahb follows the biblical sources entirely in the presentation of the history of man's origin, and not only quotes the names and figures of Genesis according to the original Hebrew text, but also notes the deviations of the Syriac translation.¹⁸³

The *Futūḥ* of Wahb, which Ḥājjī Khalīfa mentions,¹⁸⁴ seem to be otherwise unknown. On the other hand Ibn Sa'd names the *Ḥikma* of Wahb,¹⁸⁵ and the Spanish bibliographer Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Khayr (d. AH 575) knew a copy of that work of which the *isnād* went back to Wahb's nephew 'Aqīl, who had received it from his uncle.¹⁸⁶ This work contains wise sayings, and of similar import was the *Maw'iza* also, which the same Spanish bibliographer mentions.¹⁸⁷ Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Khayr ascribes to Wahb also a translation of the Psalms, "Book of the Psalms of David in the Translation of Wahb ibn Munabbih".¹⁸⁸ For the sake of completeness the *Kitāb al-qadar* also, which Wahb is said to have composed according to Yāqūt,¹⁸⁹ may be mentioned.

All the writings of Wahb that we have named hitherto stand rather far [558] away from the *maghāzī*, with which we are concerned in this article; still if we, as we must, understand the term *maghāzī* in its widest sense, in accordance with the use of language in the early days of Islam, and extend it to the whole life-story of the Prophet, then these writings of Wahb come into

¹⁸¹Yāqūt, *Irshād al-arīb*, VII, 232:14–15.

¹⁸²Lidzbarski, 8–9. [As Horovitz penned these lines the text of the *Kitāb al-tījān* had just recently been edited by Fritz Krenkow (Hyderabad, AH 1347). Cf. Krenkow's "The Two Oldest Books on Arabic Folklore," *IC* 2 (1928), 55–89, 204–34; Khoury, *Wahb b. Munabbih*, I, 290–302; Duri, *Rise of Historical Writing*, 127, 130–32.]

¹⁸³[See Khoury, *Wahb b. Munabbih*, I, 215–16; Duri, *Rise of Historical Writing*, 125 and n. 22.]

¹⁸⁴Ḥājjī Khalīfa, IV, 387:2 no. 8932 [(ed. Yaltkaya and Bilge), II, col. 1240:25–26].

¹⁸⁵Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, [VII.2], 97:11–12, where it is said of Wahb's grandson that he used to recite the writings and wisdom of Wahb.

¹⁸⁶Abū Bakr ibn Khayr, *Fahrāsa*, [291ult–292:6].

¹⁸⁷*Ibid.*, 294:1–8.

¹⁸⁸[*Ibid.*, 294:16–295:4.]

¹⁸⁹Yāqūt, *Irshād al-arīb*, VII, 232:8–14; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, XI, 168:6.

consideration for the introduction to the Prophet's biography, in so far as this concerns the bearers of Revelation before Muḥammad.¹⁹⁰ Ḥājji Khalīfa says indeed of Wahb: "He collected the *maghāzī*";¹⁹¹ but in the older works of *sīra* literature he is nowhere quoted as an authority on the life-story of the Prophet.¹⁹² However the statement of Ḥājji Khalīfa is right. C.H. Becker has discovered among the papyri of the Schott-Reinhardt collection, now preserved in Heidelberg, a volume that evidently represents a fragment of this *Kitāb al-maghāzī*.¹⁹³ The Heidelberg fragment is written in AH 228, therefore not much more than a hundred years later than Wahb; and the first words run: "Muḥammad ibn Bakr Abū Ṭalḥa related to us, he said: 'Abd al-Mun'im related to us from his father, from Abū l-Yās, from Wahb.'" This list, which thus refers the contents of the volume back to Wahb, is oft repeated in the course of the text. Wahb, for his part, however, never states to what authorities he owes his information. The Heidelberg fragment confirms therefore what we already know from al-Ṭabarī among others: that Wahb did not, generally speaking, employ *isnād*. We have already learnt to know 'Abd al-Mun'im as a grandson of Wahb, who elsewhere also handed on the writings of his grandfather as he had received them from his father Idrīs, the husband of Wahb's daughter.¹⁹⁴ Idrīs, however, had not received the writings direct from Wahb but through the intermediary of Abū l-Yās,¹⁹⁵ the same who, according to Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Khayr, transmitted the *Maw'iza* of

¹⁹⁰[The point here can be pressed further. See, for example, 'Abd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaf*, V, 423:6–426:7 no. 9752, where Wahb ibn Munabbih's account of the *aṣḥāb al-kaḥf*, the "Men of the Cave" (based on the tale of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus), is taken up by Ma'mar ibn Rāshid in his recension of al-Zuhrī's *maghāzī* and placed, along with the legend of the building of Jerusalem, just before the account of Muḥammad's final illness, i.e. near the end of al-Zuhrī's *maghāzī* and thus in no way preparatory to the career of the Prophet. The implication is that as late as Ma'mar the consideration of chronology was not yet a decisive factor in the arrangement of material within a text.]

¹⁹¹Ḥājji Khalīfa, V, 646ult no. 12,464 [(ed. Yaltkaya and Bilge), II, 1747:2; Khoury, *Wahb b. Munabbih*, I, 274–76].

¹⁹²[But cf. the quotations in Abū Nu'aym, *Ḥilyat al-awliyā'*, IV, 73:8–79:10, 79:15–81ult.]

¹⁹³C.H. Becker, *Papyri Schott-Reinhardt I* (Heidelberg, 1906), 8.

¹⁹⁴Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, [VII.2], 97:11–12; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif*, 261:21–22 [(ed. 'Ukkāsha), 525:14]; *Fihrist*, 94:7–8.

¹⁹⁵I can find nothing in the *kutub al-riḡāl* concerning this Abū l-Yās. Abū l-Yās is also the *kunya* of Wahb's son-in-law Idrīs ibn Sinān, but in the Heidelberg papyrus it is more generally stated: 'Abd al-Mun'im [ibn Idrīs] 'an abīhi 'an Abī l-Yās. [I.e. Idrīs was the father of 'Abd al-Mun'im and the student of Abū l-Yās, not Abū l-Yās himself. Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, I, 194:10–11; Khoury, *Wahb b. Munabbih*, I, 185.]

Wahb also.¹⁹⁶ The Heidelberg fragment shows us that Wahb did not treat of the *maghāzī* in the narrower sense, for it contains the history of the great 'Aqaba, the conference of Quraysh in Dār al-Nadwa, the preparations for the *hijra*, the *hijra* itself, the advent of the Prophet in Medina and the campaign against Banū [Khath'am].¹⁹⁷

If we learn from the Heidelberg [559] fragment hardly anything new that we do not find in the works of *sīra* and *maghāzī* literature that have come down to us complete, it is important for this reason: that it establishes the fact that, already in the year AH 100 or earlier, the biography of the Prophet was narrated exactly as in later works. From the latter Wahb is distinguished by the facts that he nowhere names his authorities though he adheres to them, and that he also interrupts the prose narrative with poetical insertions, odes that he puts in the mouth of the participators in events or their contemporaries, as has been the custom of the Arab storytellers from of old.

¹⁹⁶Abū Bakr ibn Khayr, *Fahrassa*, 294:7.

¹⁹⁷[In the published English text: "Khaitham". The papyrus has since been edited with a German translation in Khoury, *Wahb b. Munabbih*, I, 117–75. Cf. also M.J. Kister, "Notes on the Papyrus Account of the 'Aqaba Meeting," *Le Muséon* 76 (1963), 403–17; *idem*, "On the Papyrus of Wahb b. Munabbih," *BSOAS* 37 (1974), 545–71.]

CHAPTER II

The Early Medinans

[22] IN THE GENERATION following that of the *tābi'ūn*, among the greater number of connoisseurs in tradition, there are three men who deserve special mention in this place because they devoted their attention especially to the *maghāzī*: 'Abd Allāh ibn Abī Bakr ibn Muḥammad, 'Aṣim ibn 'Umar ibn Qatāda, and Muḥammad ibn Muslim al-Zuhri; all three being among the weightiest authorities of Ibn Ishāq, and all three being adherents of the Medina school.¹

'Abd Allāh ibn Abī Bakr sprang from a Medinan family whose ancestors already in the Prophet's time had rendered signal service to Islam.² 'Abd

¹[The theory that early Islamic historical writing represented the work of specific regional "schools", especially in Medina and al-Kūfa, was first deployed by Julius Wellhausen in his "Prolegomena zur ältesten Geschichte des Islams," in his *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten* (Berlin, 1884-99), VI, 4-7, and still prevailed in the time of Horowitz, who does not, however, seem to assign any prescriptive value (or blame) to affiliation with any particular "school". More recently the theory has been refuted by Albrecht Noth; see his *The Early Arabic Historical Tradition: a Source-Critical Study*, 2nd ed. in collaboration with Lawrence I. Conrad, trans. Michael Bonner (Princeton, 1994), 5-23. A more moderate position has since been adopted in Donner, *Narratives of Islamic Origins*, 214-28.]

²[SOURCES: Ibn Sa'd, *Al-Qism al-mutammim min al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, ed. Ziyād Muḥammad Maṣṣūr (Medina, 1408/1987), 283:4-11 no. 171; Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, *Ta'rikh*, II, 437:2-3; *idem*, *Ṭabaqāt*, 264:21-22; al-Bukhārī, *Al-Ta'rikh al-kabīr*, III.1, 54:5-13 no. 119; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Al-'Ilal wa-ma'rifat al-rijāl*, IV, 216:9-12; al-'Ijlī, *Ta'rikh al-thiqāt*, 251:8-9 no. 786; al-Fasawī, *Al-Ma'rifa wa-l-ta'rikh*, I, 379:14-23; al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, II, 370:18-19; Ibn Abī Ḥatīm, *Al-Jarḥ wa-l-ta'dūl*, II.2, 17:9-19 no. 77; al-Azdī, *Ta'rikh al-Mawṣil*, 157:7-8; Ibn Hibbān, *Thiqāt*, VII, 10:8-11; *idem*, *Mashāhīr 'ulamā' al-amṣār*, 68:15-16 no. 468; Ibn al-Qaysarānī, *Jam'*, I, 263:2-7 no. 960; Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī l-ta'rikh*, V, 463:11-12; al-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-asmā'*, 336:13-19; al-Yāfi'i,

Allāh's great-grandfather had been sent by the Prophet to the Yemen with the commission to instruct the inhabitants of that region in the teaching of Islam,³ and he remained there as the Prophet's governor in Najrān.⁴ 'Abd Allāh's grandfather, Muḥammad ibn 'Amr, met his death on the day of the Ḥarra (AH 63) when the Umayyads defeated the [23] forces of Medina. Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam, afterwards caliph, who saw him lying dead upon the field that day, exclaimed: "May Allāh have mercy on thee! By how many a pillar have I seen thee standing long in prayer!"⁵

Lastly, 'Abd Allāh's father, Abū Bakr, was judge in Medina from AH 86, the year in which 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz took over the governorship.⁶ He was famed as an expert in jurisprudence,⁷ which he had learnt from Abān ibn 'Uthmān.⁸ In the year AH 96, the caliph Sulaymān conferred on him, in addition to his judgeship, the office of governor of Medina,⁹ a post that no Medinan before him had held under the Umayyads,¹⁰ but that Abū Bakr retained also under 'Umar II,¹¹ and of which Yazīd II first deprived him.¹² He, however, still continued to be judge a while longer under the new governor,¹³ with whom he was, however, on bad terms, and who even had

Mir'at al-janān, I, 281:12-13; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, XIV, 349pu-352:1 no. 3190; al-Dhahabī, *Mizān al-i'tidāl*, II, 398:17-20 no. 4231; *idem*, *Ta'rikh al-islām*, AH 121-40, 459:3-12; *idem*, *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'*, V, 314pu-315:8 no. 151; al-Dhahabī/Fischer, *Biographien*, 25:5-13; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfi bi-l-wafayāt*, XVII, 86:1-3 no. 73; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, V, 164:13-165:11 no. 281; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, I, 192:19-20.

MODERN STUDIES: Jones, "Muqaddima," 23-24; GAS, I, 284; Donner, *Narratives of Islamic Origins*, 302.]

³Ibn Hishām, I.2, 961:1-962:14.

⁴Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, I, 1852:16-17, 1983:4.

⁵*Ibid.*, II, 417:15-18.

⁶*Ibid.*, II, 1191:6-7, 1258:8. [On Abū Bakr ibn Muḥammad, see al-Fasawī, *Al-Ma'rifa wa-l-ta'rikh*, I, 643:10-645:12.]

⁷Al-Dhahabī/Fischer, *Biographien*, 90:10-11; also Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, XII, 39:1-2.

⁸Al-Dhahabī/Fischer, *Biographien*, 90:14-15.

⁹*Ibid.*, 90:12. Cf. further al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, II, 1282:2-15, 1305:10-12.

¹⁰Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, XII, 39:11. [The Arabic is in fact rather broader in sense: *wa-lam yakun bi-l-Madīna anṣārī amīrun ghayra Abī Bakr ibn Ḥazm*, "no Anṣārī other than Abū Bakr ibn Ḥazm ever served as governor of Medina".]

¹¹Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, II, 1346:15-16, 1358ult-1359:4.

¹²*Ibid.*, II, 1373:2-4.

¹³*Ibid.*, II, 1373:12-14.

him flogged on one occasion.¹⁴ Abū Bakr was later, in AH 118, once more [24] governor of Medina for a few days.¹⁵ He died in AH 120, or some years later.¹⁶

Abū Bakr, who observed his son's predilection for the study of *ḥadīth* and counselled him to compare the substance of each *ḥadīth* with its antecedents,¹⁷ received from 'Umar II the commission: "Seek out what remains of the *ḥadīth* of 'Amra bint 'Abd al-Raḥmān, and write it down; for I fear the disappearance of knowledge and the passing hence of its possessors."¹⁸ The 'Amra here named, through her intimacy with 'Ā'isha the bride of the Prophet in particular, had learnt the reports that 'Ā'isha had handed down,¹⁹ and Abū Bakr, as her nephew,²⁰ had especially good opportunities for eliciting them from her. However, these records made at the behest of 'Umar II were even in the next generation no longer to be found.²¹ Like Abū Bakr himself, one of his sons, Muḥammad [25] ibn Abī Bakr, who died in AH 132, was active as a judge in Medina.²²

His other son, 'Abd Allāh ibn Abī Bakr, on the contrary—he for whose sake we have prefaced all this information concerning his relations—held himself aloof from all official activity. As al-Zuhrī informs us (who says of him that he had not his like in all Medina), it was precisely the consideration that his father enjoyed that prevented his own fame from coming to maturity so long as his father was alive.²³ 'Abd Allāh survived his father only 10–15 years, and died in AH 130 or 135.²⁴ The contrast that existed between judicial practice, which had to take account of the customary law of Medina, and the requirements of *ḥadīth*, finds expression in a conversation that 'Abd Allāh held with his brother Muḥammad the judge:

When he had come to a decision that stood in contradiction to *ḥadīth*, after his return home his brother—he was a pious man—

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 1452:14.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 1592:3–6.

¹⁶ Al-Dhahabī/Fischer, *Biographien*, 91:6–7.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 91:3–5. [Cf. al-Fasawī, *Al-Ma'rifa wa-l-ta'rikh*, II, 829:2–5.]

¹⁸ Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II.2, 134:15–18; somewhat otherwise in Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, XII, 39:9:11.

¹⁹ Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, XII, 438:10–11.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, XII, 438:14.

²¹ *Ibid.*, XII, 39:12–13. [Cf. al-Fasawī, *Al-Ma'rifa wa-l-ta'rikh*, II, 707:13–16.]

²² Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, III, 2505:11–15.

²³ Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, V, 165:9–10.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, V, 165:5.

would say to him: "O my brother, thou hast to-day given such and such a judgment in such and such a case." "Yes, O my brother." "But what of the *ḥadīth*, which deserves that judgment should be given in accordance with it?" "But what of judicial practice?" the judge would answer, meaning that which was generally recognised as the usage in Medina; for this generally recognised practice was, in their opinion, of more worth than the *ḥadīth*.²⁵

[26] From the quotations in Ibn Ishāq, al-Wāqidī, Ibn Sa'd and al-Ṭabarī we can picture the activity of 'Abd Allāh as a transmitter of tradition to some extent, in so far as they were concerned with the *maghāzī*. From the *Fihrist* we learn that 'Abd Allāh's nephew 'Abd al-Malik, son of the above-mentioned judge Muḥammad, who was himself also a judge and died in AH 176, compiled a *Kitāb al-maghāzī*,²⁶ probably this book, of which no trace seems to remain, consisted of the collected material that he had acquired from his uncle, just as a brother of this 'Abd al-Malik, 'Abd al-Raḥmān, often in al-Wāqidī transmits reports of his uncle.²⁷ The statements of 'Abd Allāh are not confined to the *maghāzī* in the narrower sense of the word, he is concerned also with the youth and early years of the Prophet; but his name appears most often in reports concerning the *maghāzī* properly so called, and he also devoted his attention to the *wufūd* (the embassies of the Arabian tribes to the Prophet). He has also transmitted reports concerning the revolt of the Arab tribes after the Prophet's death and concerning particular events in the following decade; as, for example, concerning the last days of the caliph 'Uthmān.²⁸ The house of 'Abd Allāh's family neighboured that in which the caliph met his death,²⁹ and his great-grandfather was not a stranger to the events that led up to the murder of the caliph.³⁰

'Abd Allāh gives very many of his reports without naming his authorities, in other cases he mentions their names; the use of the *isnād* is not yet obligatory [27] with him. A number of his reports go back to 'Amra, his

²⁵ Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, III, 2505:15–2506:2.

²⁶ *Fihrist*, 226:3. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII.2, 68:19, says of him: *wa-kāna qalīl al-ḥadīth* ["he transmitted few traditions"].

²⁷ In Wellhausen's index [al-Wāqidī/Wellhausen, 463] it is given erroneously 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Bakr for 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr.

²⁸ Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, I, 3060:1–9.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 3005:15–16.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 2989:1–6. See further *ibid.*, I, 3001:2, 3021:2–3.

great-aunt, but by word of mouth and through the intermediary of his wife Fāṭima, who received them directly from 'Amra.³¹ As throwing light upon the intercourse of women with men in those days, the way in which Ibn Ishāq, the pupil of 'Abd Allāh, obtained one of these statements of 'Amra is noteworthy. He relates that when he came to 'Abd Allāh, the latter bade his wife: "Inform Muḥammad of what you have heard from 'Amra," whereupon she repeated her statements.³²

It sometimes happened, moreover, that 'Abd Allāh, in the case of certain questions that he was in a position to solve, never let his pupil Ibn Ishāq know the answer. Thus he would not mention to him the names of the two members of a Medinan family who acted against the orders of the Prophet when his army was encamped near al-Ḥijr, and who suffered punishment therefore, even though in the end their lives were spared. "'Abd Allāh ibn Abī Bakr"—so says Ibn Ishāq—"had this information from al-'Abbās ibn Sahl and he told me that al-'Abbās had mentioned the names of the two men to him, but in strict confidence, wherefor he refused to mention them to me."³³

'Abd Allāh did not content himself with collecting the reports that had become known to him. He sought also, thus early, to establish the chronological order of events³⁴ and had put together a list of the Prophet's [28] campaigns in chronological order, which Ibn Ishāq borrowed for his work.³⁵ Besides the reports of his authorities, he paid regard also to written sources, as, for instance, a screed of the Prophet to the south Arabian princes³⁶ and a further document that the Prophet had given his great-grandfather, 'Amr ibn Ḥazm, to take with him when he sent him to Najrān to spread the teaching of Islam there.³⁷ Like his forerunners, of whom we have already treated, 'Abd Allāh also imparts songs that are put into the mouths of those who play a leading part in the events.³⁸ Of this, examples are found in accounts concerning the *maghāzī* as well as in those of the events after the Prophet's

³¹Ibn Hishām, I.2, 1020:5-9.

³²Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, I, 1837:5-10. In Ibn Hishām, [I.2, 1020:8-9], it is only: *qad ḥaddathanī Fāṭima ḥadhā l-ḥadīth* ["Fāṭima told me this *ḥadīth*"].

³³Ibn Hishām, I.2, 899:5-7.

³⁴E.g. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, III, 2431:2-4, 2447:7-12.

³⁵*Ibid.*, I, 1756:11-1757:9; see further I, 1758:6-1760:14.

³⁶*Ibid.*, I, 1717:14-1720:6.

³⁷Ibn Hishām, I.2, 961:1-962:14.

³⁸E.g. *ibid.*, I.2, 590:4-9.

death.³⁹ In 'Abd Allāh's family the interest in poetry was lively, and in the *Kitāb al-aghānī* we have an account of how one of the sons of Abū Bakr ibn Muḥammad (whether it was 'Abd Allāh himself or one of his brothers cannot be established) once challenged al-Farazdaq to compose a poem that should equal a poem of Ḥassān's that he [29] admired:

[30] Al-Yarbū'ī said, Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ related: While Abān ibn 'Uthmān was *amīr* (AH 75-82) al-Farazdaq came to Medina and I, al-Farazdaq and Kuthayyir sat in the mosque and recited poems in rivalry. Then a slim brown youth strode in, who was clad in two reddish-coloured garments, came towards us and, when he was near to us, said without greeting: "Which of you is al-Farazdaq?" For fear that he (like Ibrāhīm himself) might belong to Quraysh, I said: "Speakest thou thus to the Lord of the Arabs and their poet?" "If he were that, I should not have spoken to him," he replied. Then al-Farazdaq said: "Who then art thou?" "A man of the Anṣār, more precisely of the Banū l-Najjār, more precisely still, a son of Abū Bakr ibn Ḥazm. I have heard thou claimest to be the greatest poet of the Arabs and that the race of Muḍar so acclaim thee.⁴⁰ Our Ḥassān ibn Thābit⁴¹ has, however, composed a poem that I wish to propound to thee. I give thee a year's time. If thou canst make a poem that will equal this, then art thou the greatest poet among the Arabs; but if not, then art thou a liar and a plagiarist." Thereupon he recited the verse of Ḥassān:

Ours are the brilliant chargers that flash in the sunlight,
Ours are the swords dripping blood of the fruit of our
bravery.⁴²

³⁹*Ibid.*, I.2, 789:15-20, 793:12-19; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, I, 1732:10-1734:3, 1734:11-1736:10. In the corresponding passages of Ibn Hishām, I.2, 951, 950, 'Abd Allāh is not named. See also al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, I, 1905:3-1906:10, 2353pu-2355:8.

⁴⁰The Anṣār reckon themselves among the south Arabians, whereas Muḍar is esteemed the forefather of the north Arabian tribes to which al-Farazdaq belongs.

⁴¹The Medinan court poet of the Prophet.

⁴²[Three further verses are dropped in the published English text. For the famous poem from which these lines originate, see Ḥassān ibn Thābit, *Dīwān*, ed. Walid N. 'Arafat (Leiden and London, 1971), I, 35:9, 12, 17-18 no. 4 vs. 25, 28, 33-34, quoted in a differing order.]

And he recited the whole *qaṣīda* to the end.⁴³ Then he turned away, and al-Farazdaq arose full of rage, his cloak slipping off and he not knowing where its seam was, till he had left the mosque. Then Kuthayyir came to me and said: "How eloquent was the speech of that Anṣārī, how illuminating his argument, how exquisite his poem!" And we conversed the whole day long of al-Farazdaq and the Anṣārī. On the following morning I betook myself again to our place of meeting of the day before, Kuthayyir came and sat with me and we discoursed again of al-Farazdaq and said: "If only we knew what he has done!" Then he came up to us, wrapped in a many-coloured, striped cloak and with his hair tied in two plaits, sat in the place that he had occupied the day before and said: "What is the Anṣārī doing?" Then we reviled and aspersed him⁴⁴ to soothe the soul of [31] al-Farazdaq, whereupon he said: "A man like him⁴⁵ has never until now confronted me, and a poem like his poem have I never heard before. When I left you and had reached my dwelling, I tried in all the kinds of poetry, but I was as one for whom silence is decreed and who never has composed a verse. Then, when the criers called to the prayer of dawn, I saddled my she-camel, took her by the reins and rode till I came to the mountain Dhubāb. There cried I in a loud voice:⁴⁶ 'Help thy brother, O Abū Lubaynā!' Then my breast began to seethe as the pot on the fire seethes. I tied up my camel and leaned my head against her leg as a pillow and paused not till I had composed 113 verses."⁴⁷ While he was reciting to us the poem, the Anṣārī appeared, came up to us and greeted us and said: "I have not come to curtail the time I fixed for thee, but I would not see thee without asking what thou hast done." Then al-Farazdaq said: "Sit down!," and began to recite

⁴³[*Ibid.*, I, 34:1–39ult.]

⁴⁴I.e. the said Anṣārī.

⁴⁵Hassān.

⁴⁶I.e. to the *jinnī* who inspired al-Farazdaq in his poems. [On the role of the *jinn* in inspiring ancient Arab poets, see Ignaz Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie* (Leiden, 1896–99), I, 1–27, 41–42, 59, 133.]

⁴⁷[For this poem, an ode of 113 (or 119) verses in its present form and a piece of which al-Farazdaq was apparently very proud (*Aghānī*, XXI, 373:8–9), see al-Farazdaq, *Dīwān*, ed. Karam al-Bustānī (Beirut, 1386/1966), II, 23:1–33ult; Abū 'Ubayda, *Naqā'id Jarīr wa-l-Farazdaq*, ed. Anthony Ashley Bevan (Leiden, 1905–12), II, 548:5–576:10.]

his poem. When he ended his recital the Anṣārī rose discomfited, and scarcely had he passed from our sight when the father of the Anṣārī, Abū Bakr ibn Ḥazm, appeared with other shaykhs of the Anṣār. They greeted us and said: "O Abū Firās,⁴⁸ thou knowest our condition and the position that we occupied with the Prophet (may God bless and keep him!) and what command he gave concerning us.⁴⁹ We have heard that a fool from among us has dared to pit himself against thee and we entreat thee, by Allāh and by the Law of His chosen Muḥammad (Allāh bless and keep him!): Keep the command of the Prophet concerning us, forgive us for his sake and shame us not."⁵⁰ Then I—Ibrāhīm goes on to relate—and Kuthayyir up and pleaded with him till in the end he said: "I forgive thee for the sake of this Qurashī."⁵¹

The story happens in the youth of our 'Abd Allāh or of one of his brothers, and shows us again how in the circles that were devoted to *fiqh* and *ḥadīth*, poetry also was in no way neglected.

'Āsim ibn 'Umar ibn Qatāda, also, sprang from a Medinan family that had early adhered to the Prophet.⁵² His grandfather Qatāda, of the sept of

⁴⁸The *kunya* of al-Farazdaq.

⁴⁹[The reference here is to a famous cluster of tendentious traditions in which the Prophet, in his last address to the Muslims, urges them to accept the Anṣār who do good and be lenient with those who do ill. See Ibn Hishām, I.2, 1007:6–12; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II.2, 42:7–44:5; al-Bukhārī, *Al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, ed. Ludolf Krehl and Th.W. Juynboll (Leiden, 1862–1908), III, 9:5–19 *Manāqib al-Anṣār* no. 11. Cf. also Suliman Bashear, *Arabs and Others in Early Islam* (Princeton, 1997), 64–65.]

⁵⁰I.e. by a satirical poem.

⁵¹I.e. for Ibrāhīm's sake. See *Naqā'id*, II, 546:2–548:5; also *Aghānī*, [IX, 337:1–339:4; XXI, 370:5–373:7].

⁵²[SOURCES: Ibn Sa'd, *Al-Qism al-mutammim*, 127:8–129:2 no. 32; Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, *Ta'rikh*, II, 365:3–4; *idem*, *Ṭabaqāt*, 258:4–5; al-Bukhārī, *Al-Ta'rikh al-kabīr*, III.2, 478:7–9 no. 3040; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif* (ed. 'Ukkāsha), 466:4–8; al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, II, 370:16, 378:14, 396:1–2; al-Dulābī, *Al-Kunā wa-l-asmā'*, II, 40:3–43:2; Ibn Abī Ḥatīm, *Al-Jarḥ wa-l-ta'dīl*, III.1, 346:9–14 no. 1913; al-Azdī, *Ta'rikh al-Mawṣil*, 40:10–11; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Thiqāt*, V, 234:7–235:2; *idem*, *Mashāḥir 'ulamā' al-amṣār*, 70:1–2 no. 479; Ibn al-Qaysarānī, *Jam'*, I, 383:5–8 no. 1463; Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh madīnat Dimashq*, XXV, 274:11–282:4 no. 3018; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, VII, 203:7–13 no. 650; Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī l-ta'rikh*, V, 228:14; al-Yāfi'ī, *Mir'āt al-janān*, I, 256ult–257:1; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, XIII, 528ult–531ult no. 3020; al-Dhahabī, *Mizān al-i'tidāl*, II, 355:15–17 no. 4059; *idem*, *Ta'rikh al-islām*, AH 101–20, 389:2–7; *idem*, *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'*, V, 240:13–241:7 no. 102; al-Dhahabī/Fischer, *Biographien*, 22:7–17; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfi bi-l-*

the Banū Zafar, was one of the Anṣār who fought for the Prophet at Badr;⁵³ and at Ḥunayn he was the standard bearer of his [32] clan.⁵⁴ Of 'Āṣim's father, 'Umar, the sources have not much more to tell than that he received *ḥadīth* from his father and passed it on to his son 'Āṣim.⁵⁵ Unlike the father of 'Abd Allāh ibn Abī Bakr he evidently played no particular part in the life of his native city, and held no public office. His son 'Āṣim was not free from economic difficulties, which caused him, like so many other of his fellow-countrymen in similar circumstances, to betake himself to the capital of the empire, and to seek for help at the caliph's court. This he was successful in obtaining from the then-caliph, 'Umar II, the only one of the Umayyad caliphs who found favour also in the sight of the pious of Medina. As Ibn Sa'd informs us:

['Āṣim] repaired to the court of 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, who paid his debts, assigned him a stipend and ordered him to sit regularly in the mosque of Damascus and tell the people of the Prophet's campaigns (*maghāzī*) and the [meritorious deeds]⁵⁶ of his Companions; which he did.⁵⁷ Later he returned to Medina.⁵⁸

wafayāt, XVI, 571:4–7 no. 605; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, V, 53:16–54:12 no. 85; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-zāhira*, I, 258:10; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, I, 157:8–9.

MODERN STUDIES: Fück, *Muḥammad ibn Ishāq*, 9; Jones, "Muqaddima," 22; Caskel, *Ġamharat an-nasab*, I, Chart 181; II, 203b; *GAS*, I, 279–80; 'Aṭwān, *Riwayāt al-shāmīyīn*, 27–28; Donner, *Narratives of Islamic Origins*, 194, 219, 301.]

⁵³Ibn Hishām, I.1, 492:14.

⁵⁴Al-Wāqidī/Wellhausen, 358 [= *Maghāzī* (ed. Jones), III, 896:1–2].

⁵⁵Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, VII, 489:6–7.

⁵⁶[In the published English text: "famous deeds"; in the Arabic (Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, V, 54:6): *manāqib*.]

⁵⁷[On this caliph's interest in the subject, see especially 'Aṭwān, *Riwayāt al-shāmīyīn*, 27–30. But cf. Donner, *Narratives of Islamic Origins*, 95, warning that accounts of figures later renowned for their piety tend to attract episodes and details from a more or less floating and ahistorical corpus of moralizing tales.]

⁵⁸The article on 'Āṣim seems to be missing from the Mss. of Ibn Sa'd that have come down to us, but al-Dhahabī/Fischer, *Biographien*, [22:12–17]; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, V, [54:5–7]; and al-Mizzī [as above, 47 n. 52], quote the article. On this last source see Eduard Sachau, "Studien zur ältesten Geschichtsüberlieferung der Araber," *MSOS* 7 (1904), 167; [and more recently, G.H.A. Juynboll, art. "al-Mizzī" in *EI*², VII (Leiden, 1993), 212a–213a. The missing part of Ibn Sa'd has since been discovered in Medina and edited by Maṣṣūr, *Al-Qism al-mutammim* (above, 40 n. 2; cf. 127:8–129:1 for the *tarjama* of 'Āṣim ibn 'Umar.)

The caliph 'Umar II, who, as we have seen, attached importance to the collecting and recording of *ḥadīth*,⁵⁹ in the same manner thought it good to have the population of Damascus instructed by a thorough expert. 'Āṣim's attainments in the *sīra* and the *maghāzī* were, besides, renowned;⁶⁰ and he ranked as an authentic transmitter.⁶¹ That he perverted the history of the Prophet in the [cause]⁶² of the Umayyads is not to be accepted any more than that 'Umar II had ever wished him to do so.⁶³ The caliphate of 'Umar II lasted from AH 99 to 101 and in 101 at latest 'Āṣim returned to his native city; where, for at least two decades, he [33] expounded his knowledge before his audience and died in AH 119 or a little later.⁶⁴

'Āṣim is one of the chief authorities of Ibn Ishāq and al-Wāqidī for the *maghāzī* properly so called,⁶⁵ but he also paid attention to the details of the story of the Prophet's youth and to the Meccan period generally, as the quotations of Ibn Sa'd in particular indicate. He also often states his authorities, but still more frequently omits to name them. His attitude towards *isnād* is thus the same as that of 'Abd Allāh ibn Abī Bakr. He too occasionally includes verses of the chief actors in the accounts transmitted by him;⁶⁶ and that he did not act merely as a compiler, but now and then allowed expression to his own opinion as to the motives animating the transactors, is clear from the passage quoted by Ibn Ishāq where he says: "By Allāh, al-'Abbās ibn 'Ubāda gave this counsel⁶⁷ only in order to strengthen the bond for the Prophet."⁶⁸ In a noteworthy manner 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abī Bakr also expresses his own opinion and the contrary opinion of 'Āṣim concerning that step of al-'Abbās.

⁵⁹[Cf. above, 42.]

⁶⁰Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif*, 236:12 [(ed. 'Ukkāsha), 466:5].

⁶¹Al-Dhahabī/Fischer, *Biographien*, 22:12–13.

⁶²[In the published English text: "sense", i.e. a misreading of Pickthall's handwriting by the printer.]

⁶³[On scholars in the service of the Umayyads, see below, 52 n. 80.]

⁶⁴Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif*, 236:13–15 [(ed. 'Ukkāsha), 466:5–8]; al-Dhahabī/Fischer, *Biographien*, [22:15–17].

⁶⁵[Cf. *GAS*, I, 280.]

⁶⁶E.g. Ibn Hishām, I.1, 284:3–11; I.2, 728:13–19; [Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaf*, VII, 374:15–375:13 no. 36,786].

⁶⁷I.e. to administer the oath of allegiance (to the Prophet) only when they, on their side, were ready to endure all loss of life and property that might befall them on that account.

⁶⁸Ibn Hishām, I.1, 299:18–19.

'Abd Allāh and 'Āṣim both sprang from the circle of the Anṣār. Muḥammad ibn Muslim ibn 'Ubayd Allāh ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Shihāb,⁶⁹ on the other

⁶⁹[SOURCES: Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II.2, 135:3–136ult; *idem*, *Al-Qism al-mutammim*, 157:3–186ult no. 70; Yaḥyā ibn Ma'īn, *Ta'rikh*, II, 538:8–539:8; Muṣ'ab al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, 274:8–16; Khalifa ibn Khayyāt, *Ta'rikh*, I, 205:8; II, 370:4, 372:8–9; *idem*, *Ṭabaqāt*, 261:9–12; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Al-'Ilal wa-ma'rifa al-rijāl*, IV, 306:3–307:10; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 476:15–16; al-Jāhiz, *Al-Bayān wa-l-tabyīn*, I, 242:pu–243:3; II, 290:5–6; III, 168:11–14; al-Bukhārī, *Al-Ta'rikh al-kabīr*, I.1, 220:11–221:11 no. 693; *idem*, *Al-Ta'rikh al-awsaṭ*, I, 323pu–324:7 nos. 694–95, 459ult no. 1023, 463:3–6 no. 1030; II, 41:3–5 no. 1130; *idem*, *Al-Ta'rikh al-ṣaghīr*, I, 187:1–8, 215:5–8, 320:5–7; al-Zubayr ibn Bakkar, *Muwaffaqiyāt*, 197:6–199:11, 325:3–13; al-'Ijlī, *Ta'rikh al-thiqāt*, 412pu–413:4 no. 1500; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif* (ed. 'Ukkāsha), 472:1–16; al-Fasawī, *Al-Ma'rifa wa-l-ta'rikh*, I, 156:12–13, 167:3–5, 186:4–6, 187:8–12, 353:9–16, 359:1–7, 360:16–18, 471:16–19, 472:15–473:3, 475:15–18, 479:3–6; 545:10–12, 551:10–16, 552:1–5, 560:16–562:6, 620:7–643:10; II, 19:3–4, 138:6–139:12, 142:7–9, 148:10–11, 384:5–8, 395:9–11, 742:4–7, 823:6–8, 824:1–4, 827:9–11, 828:1–3; III, 28:5–6, 53:4–9, 157:18–158:15, 332ult–333:6, 347:8–14, 348:10–349:6; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, V (ed. 'Abbās), 117pu–121:4; XI, 171ult–172:4; Abū Zur'a, *Ta'rikh*, I, 202:7–9, 241:7–9, 271:4–8, 275:7–11, 315:4–8, 406:17–419:14, 421:2–5, 432:4–433:7, 434:16–437ult, 508:7–509:8, 512:14–15, 517:17–518:1, 524:7–9, 533:1–538ult, 574:3–11, 584:5–6, 612:5–616:1; II, 715:7–9; al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, II, 311:6–16, 370:18, 378:13, 395ult; al-Dūlābī, *Al-Kunā wa-l-asmā'*, I, 122:17–23; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Al-Jarḥ wa-l-ta'dīl*, IV.1, 71:13–74:21 no. 318; al-Azdī, *Ta'rikh al-Mawṣil*, 40:8, 45:11–14; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, IV, 16:14–17:7 no. 2170; Ibn Hibbān, *Thiqāt*, V, 349:9–350:4; *idem*, *Mashāhīr 'ulamā'* al-amṣār, 66:5–7 no. 444; al-Marzubānī, *Mu'jam al-shu'arā'*, ed. Fritz Krenkow (Cairo, AH 1354), 413:17–23; *Aghānī*, VII, 11:8–12:6; IX, 140:16–141:10, 145:16–146:6; Abū Nu'aym, *Ḥilyat al-awliyā'*, III, 360:1–381:4 no. 248; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Al-Sābiq wa-l-lāhiq*, 311:1–313:9 no. 161; al-Shīrāzī, *Ṭabaqāt al-fuqahā'*, 63:13–64:13; Ibn al-Qaysarānī, *Jam'*, II, 449:14–450:2 no. 1712; Ibn Ḥamdūn, *Tadhkira*, I, 109:1–17 no. 210, 112:11–14 no. 223, 201:6–204pu no. 468; IV, 123:4–7 no. 357; Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh madīnat Dimashq*, LV, 294:15–387ult no. 7001 (this *tarjama* ed. separately by Shukr Allāh ibn Ni'mat Allāh al-Qūchānī (Beirut, 1982); Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntazam*, VI, 330:8–19; VII, 231:8–235:3 no. 671; *idem*, *Ṣifat al-safwa*, II, 77:6–79:11; Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī l-ta'rikh*, V, 260:8–12; al-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-asmā'*, 117:1–119:7; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, IV, 177:1–179:6 no. 563; al-Yāfi'ī, *Mir'at al-janān*, I, 260:8–12; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, XXVI, 419:3–443:1 no. 5606; al-Dhahabī, *Mizān al-i'tidāl*, IV, 40:11 no. 8171; *idem*, *Tadhkirat al-huffāz*, I, 108:15–113:3 no. 97; *idem*, *Ta'rikh al-islām*, AH 121–40, 227:1–249pu; *idem*, *Siyyar al-'ālam al-nubalā'*, V, 326:4–350:4 no. 160; al-Dhahabī/Fischer, *Biographien*, 64:13–74:6; al-Ṣafādī, *Al-Wāfi bi-l-wafayāt*, V, 24pu–26:16 no. 1990; Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya*, IX, 340:18–348:9; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, IX, 445:15–451:11 no. 732; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-zāhira*, I, 294:15–295:3; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, I, 162:12–163:7.

MODERN STUDIES: Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtschreiber*, 5 no. 18; Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, II, 44–45, 182, 195; Sachau, "Einleitung," xiii–xiv, xx; Fück, *Muhammad ibn Ishāq*, 9–10, 28; J. Horowitz, art. "al-Zuhrī" in *EI*¹, IV (Leiden, 1934), 1239b–1241a; *GAL*, I,

hand, as his *nisba* al-Zuhrī demonstrates, came from a Meccan sept, the Banū Zuhra. He was born in AH 50 or 51, according to other statements in AH 56, 57, or 58,⁷⁰ and his great-grandfather on the father's side, 'Abd Allāh ibn Shihāb, had fought on the side [34] of the Meccans against the Prophet at Badr,⁷¹ had conspired with three other men of Mecca to kill the Prophet at Uḥud,⁷² and actually did succeed in wounding him.⁷³ Naturally this deed was painful to the great-grandson, who in the passage where he speaks of the assault of the conspirators against the Prophet's person says nothing of his great-grandfather's part in it.⁷⁴ Al-Zuhrī's father was on the side of 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr during the latter's anti-caliphate;⁷⁵ but al-Zuhrī himself, as he informs us, had even as a boy waited upon Marwān⁷⁶—during his caliphate in the year AH 64—and later repaired to the court of Marwān's son, 'Abd al-Malik. He then, it is true, fixed his home at Damascus but often sojourned in his native city, Medina. Somewhere in the period

64; SI, 102; 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Dūrī, "Al-Zuhrī: a Study of the Beginnings of History Writing in Islam," *BSOAS* 19 (1957), 1–12; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'jam al-mu'allifīn*, XII, 21b; Erling Ladewig Petersen, *Alī and Mu'āwiya in Early Arabic Tradition: Studies on the Genesis and Growth of Islamic Historical Writing until the End of the Ninth Century* (Copenhagen, 1964), 36–37, 109–15; Jones, "Muqaddima," 22–23; Caskel, *Ġamharat an-nasab*, I, Chart 20; II, 424a; *GAS*, I, 280–83; Faruqi, *Early Muslim Historiography*, 235–61; al-Ziriklī, *Al-'Ālam*, VII, 97b; Duri, *Rise of Historical Writing*, 27–29, 95–121; Andrew Rippin, "Al-Zuhrī, *Naskh al-Qur'ān* and the Problem of Early *Tafsīr* Texts," *BSOAS* 47 (1984), 22–43; 'Aṭwān, *Riwayāt al-shāmīyīn*, 69–150; Jarrar, *Prophetenbiographie*, 23–26, 199–204; Motzki, *Anfänge*, 194–97; *idem*, "Der Fiḡh des Zuhri. Die Quellenproblematik," *Der Islam* 68 (1991), 1–44; Muḥammad Muḥammad Ḥasan Shurrāb, *Al-Imām al-Zuhrī... 'ālim al-Ḥijāz wa-l-Shām* (Damascus, 1993); Khalidi, *Arabic Historical Thought*, 32–34; Michael Lecker, "Biographical Notes on Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī," *JSS* 41 (1996), 21–63; Cook, "Writing of Tradition," 459–66; Donner, *Narratives of Islamic Origins*, index; Gregor Schoeler, "Mūsā b. 'Uqbas *Maghāzī*," in Harald Motzki, ed., *The Biography of Muḥammad: the Issue of the Sources* (Leiden, 2000), 76–88.]

⁷⁰Al-Dhahabī/Fischer, *Biographien*, 73pu–74:2. [The birth dates and ages of scholars in the early Islamic Near East are often problematic; see Lawrence I. Conrad, "Seven and the *Tasbī'*: On the Implications of Numerical Symbolism for the Study of Medieval Islamic History," *JESHO* 31 (1988), 62–65.]

⁷¹Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif*, 239:5–6 [(ed. 'Ukkāsha), 472:4].

⁷²*Ibid.*, 239:6–8 [(ed. 'Ukkāsha), 472:4–6]. See further al-Wāqidī/Wellhausen, 116 [= *Maghāzī* (ed. Jones), I, 243pu–244:1]; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, IV.1, 92ult–93:3.

⁷³Ibn Hishām, I.2, 571pu.

⁷⁴*Ibid.*, I.2, 574:14–20; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, I, 1407:14–1408:7.

⁷⁵Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif*, 239:8 [(ed. 'Ukkāsha), 472:8].

⁷⁶Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, IX, 451:6–7.

before his migration to Damascus, an event befell of which Ibn Sa'd informs us:

Al-Zuhrī had shed blood unintentionally, so he went out and left his folk and pitched a tent and said: "No roof of a house shall overshadow me."⁷⁷ And 'Alī ibn Ḥusayn passed by and said to him: "O Ibn Shihāb, thy despair is greater than thy guilt. Fear God, ask His pardon, pay the blood-due to the people of the slain, and return to thine own folk." And al-Zuhrī [35] used to say: "'Alī ibn Ḥusayn has, of all men, the greatest claim to my gratitude."⁷⁸

If the Shī'ī historian al-Ya'qūbī is right,⁷⁹ al-Zuhrī already in his young days had placed himself at the disposal of the caliph 'Abd al-Malik in his war against 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr; as, for instance, when 'Abd al-Malik made the attempt to have the pilgrimage to Jerusalem decreed as meritorious as that to Mecca—this he did at the time when the anti-caliph resided at Mecca⁸⁰—it is alleged that he replied to those who complained of the ban upon the pilgrimage to Mecca: "This Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī tells you how the Prophet (Allāh bless and keep him) said: 'The saddles shall be made fast {to the camels} only for three holy places, the Masjid al-Ḥarām (Mecca),

⁷⁷[I.e. he wishes to accept hospitality from no one, for fear of involving his host in a blood feud with the clan of the man whom al-Zuhrī had killed.]

⁷⁸Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 158:24–28.

⁷⁹[On the issue of al-Ya'qūbī's Shī'ism, see William G. Millward, "The Sources of al-Ya'qūbī and the Question of Shī'a Partiality," *Abr-Nahrain* 12 (1971–72), 47–74.]

⁸⁰[The issue of al-Zuhrī's role in the service of the Umayyads has attracted much attention, beginning with Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, II, 35–36; = *Muslim Studies*, II, 44–45. Cf. also Duri, *Rise of Historical Writing*, 117–19; al-Khaṭīb, *Al-Sunna qabla l-tadwīn*, 501–14; S.D. Goitein, *Studies in Islamic History and Institutions* (Leiden, 1966), 135–48; M.J. Kister, "'You Shall only Set out for Three Mosques': a Study of an Early Tradition," *Le Muséon* 82 (1969), 173–96; Azmi, *Studies in Early Ḥadīth Literature*, 288–92. Of particular importance are Amikam Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem and Islamic Worship: Holy Places, Ceremonies, Pilgrimage* (Leiden, 1995), esp. 153–57; and Lecker, "Biographical Notes," 22–50. On the broader issue of scholars in the service of the Umayyads, see Moshe Sharon, "The Development of the Debate over the Legitimacy of Authority in Early Islam," *JSAI* 5 (1984), 121–41; Khalil Athamina, "The 'Ulamā' in the Opposition: the 'Stick and Carrot' Policy in Early Islam," *IQ* 36 (1992), 153–78; M.J. Kister, "Social and Religious Concepts of Authority in Islam," *JSAI* 18 (1994), 84–127; and more generally, Patricia Crone, "'Even an Ethiopian Slave': the Transformation of a Sunnī Tradition," *BSOAS* 57 (1994), 59–67.]

my Masjid (Medina) and the Bayt al-Maqdis (Jerusalem).'"⁸¹ As a matter of fact we find a *ḥadīth* of this import—with several variations—in all the six canonical compilations (of *ḥadīth*) as well as in the *Musnad* of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal; for which the *isnād* often runs: al-Zuhrī from Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab from Abū Hurayra, but often also otherwise, with no mention of al-Zuhrī.⁸² That 'Abd al-Malik should have appealed to al-Zuhrī to secure consideration for this *ḥadīth* is only probable if he quotes also the authorities of al-Zuhrī. For if the utterance of the caliph was ever made, it must have been between the years AH 65 and 73, during the existence of 'Abd Allāh's anti-caliphate, and probably in AH 72, in which year 'Abd al-Malik, as the still-extant inscription tells us, erected the Qubbat al-Ṣakhra in Jerusalem; but in the year AH 73 al-Zuhrī was only 23 years old, perhaps considerably younger, and his name as an expert in tradition cannot then have had so much prestige that 'Abd al-Malik could have hoped for any special result from naming him *alone*.⁸³ If the report of al-Ya'qūbī deserves any credence at all, then we must take it that al-Zuhrī rushed to 'Abd al-Malik from Medina to communicate to him a *ḥadīth* heard from the authorities in Medina, of which he could hope that it would help the caliph in his political projects.⁸⁴ That he himself invented it, as some have implied,⁸⁵ is unbelievable. It was not difficult for people in Damascus to ascertain whether [36] the *ḥadīth* was known among the recognised masters in Medina, and any who had doubts would hardly have neglected to institute inquiries.

Whatever one may think about the authenticity of the *ḥadīth*, there is no ground whatever to doubt but that al-Zuhrī really had heard the *ḥadīth*

⁸¹Al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, II, 311:6–16.

⁸²[The tradition has been studied in depth in Kister, "'You Shall only Set out for Three Mosques'."]

⁸³[Here Horowitz writes on the basis of the impression he has from his sources that in the Islamic religious sciences authorities of renown tended to be older individuals. This is largely correct for classical Islamic times; see Richard W. Bulliet, "The Age Structure of Medieval Islamic Education," *SI* 57 (1983), 105–17. But in the time of al-Zuhrī these conventions were not yet fully formed, and in general it was not unusual for individuals in their late teens (birthdates were often unknown) to achieve great prominence.]

⁸⁴[Cf. Johann Fück, *Arabische Kultur und Islam im Mittelalter. Ausgewählte Schriften* (Weimar, 1981), 228–29; Duri, *Rise of Historical Writing*, 117–18; Azmi, *Studies in Early Ḥadīth Literature*, 290–91. This argument is refuted in Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem and Islamic Worship*, 154–56.]

⁸⁵[The reference is to Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, II, 35–36; = *Muslim Studies*, II, 44–45.]

from the mouth of Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab, of whom moreover we are several times informed—he was renowned as an interpreter of dreams⁸⁶—that he interpreted a certain dream communicated to him to the detriment of the anti-caliph and in favour of 'Abd al-Malik. 'Umar ibn Ḥabīb ibn Qulay' thus relates:

One day I sat with Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab at a time when I was in straitened circumstances and oppressed with debt so that I knew not where to go. There came a man to him and said: "O Abū Muḥammad,⁸⁷ I have had a dream." "What was it?" "I dreamt that I caught hold of 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān and forced him to the ground and turned him over on his face and drove four pegs into his back." Sa'id said: "Thou didst not dream it." "Yes, I dreamt it." Sa'id said: "No. Shall I tell thee, or wilt thou tell me?" He said: "Ibn al-Zubayr dreamt it and has sent me to thee." Sa'id said: "His dream is true. 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān will kill him, and out of the loins of 'Abd al-Malik spring four sons, each of whom will be caliph." Then⁸⁸ [37] I went to 'Abd al-Malik in Damascus and brought these tidings to him in the name of Sa'id, whereupon he questioned me concerning Sa'id and paid my debts.⁸⁹

In the same manner as this 'Umar, al-Zuhrī also acted—if the statement of al-Ya'qūbī is at all to be believed—when he carried a *ḥadīth* that he had heard from Sa'id's mouth to the caliph in the hope of a reward.

Anyhow, al-Zuhrī did not then stay long in Damascus, if he went there at all. His permanent emigration thither took place later, as he himself states, "at the time when Ibn al-Ash'ath was rebellious",⁹⁰ i.e. in the year AH 81 or 82.⁹¹ He went first to Qabīṣa, 'Abd al-Malik's Keeper of the Seal,⁹² with whom the caliph even when governor of Medina had been on confidential

⁸⁶ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, XI (ed. Ahlwardt), 159:15–160:5, 233:11–234:8.

⁸⁷ The *kunya* of Sa'id.

⁸⁸ 'Umar continues.

⁸⁹ Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 91:8–19. In al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, XI (ed. Ahlwardt), 233:13, the narrator is called Ḥabīb ibn Manī'.

⁹⁰ Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Ta'rikh al-ṣaghīr*, [I, 187:2; al-Fasawī, *Al-Ma'rifa wa-l-ta'rikh*, III, 332ult–333:6].

⁹¹ Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, II, 1052:1–4.

⁹² Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII.2, 157:7–8.

terms.⁹³ Qabīṣa introduced him to 'Abd al-Malik,⁹⁴ for which an opportunity was afforded when the caliph once inquired: "Which of you knows the legal decision concerning the handmaiden who has borne children to her lord?" Thereupon al-Zuhrī was mentioned and he was brought to the caliph, who asked him of his origin, made a remark upon al-Zuhrī's father's participation in the revolt of the anti-caliph, bade him then sit down, and paid his debts.⁹⁵ Like so many before him, he had gone to Damascus in the hope to free himself from harsh financial circumstances.⁹⁶ According to [38] another account the caliph had first made inquiries concerning al-Zuhrī from Sa'id, through his governor in Medina.⁹⁷ All these accounts fail to chime with al-Ya'qūbī's report, according to which 'Abd al-Malik must have known al-Zuhrī a long time and the latter would not have required a special introduction to the caliph nor a favourable judgment of Sa'id. Perhaps al-Ya'qūbī's statement rests solely on this fact, that the name of al-Zuhrī was remembered in later times as that of the one renowned *muḥaddith* who had stood on intimate terms with 'Abd al-Malik, and that people antedated that intimacy by ten years. This may have happened the more easily because, as we have seen, his name does in truth occur in the *isnād* of the *ḥadīth* in question.

Under the successors of 'Abd al-Malik, who appointed him a fixed income,⁹⁸ al-Zuhrī stayed on in Damascus.⁹⁹ He informs us that he went to al-Walīd ibn 'Abd al-Malik in order to sue for the hand of Bint Malik ibn Shihāb.¹⁰⁰ The story-tellers seem to have magnified this event, for, as we learn from the *Fihrist*,¹⁰¹ there was a "Book of al-Zuhrī and his Girl-Cousin who Journeyed to Hishām ibn 'Abd al-Malik".¹⁰² The substitution for al-Walīd of his brother Hishām occurs elsewhere, as we shall see

⁹³ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, XI (ed. Ahlwardt), 257:1–10.

⁹⁴ Ibn Sa'd, VII.2, 157:8–9; also Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif*, 228:11 [(ed. 'Ukkāsha), 447:15–16].

⁹⁵ Al-Dhahabī/Fischer, *Biographien*, 70:8–10.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 90:3–7.

⁹⁷ Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Ta'rikh al-ṣaghīr*, [I, 187:5–8].

⁹⁸ Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII.2, 157:9; also Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif*, 228:11–12 [(ed. 'Ukkāsha), 447:16].

⁹⁹ [It seems that he was also in Jerusalem late in the caliphate of 'Abd al-Malik; Abū Zur'a, *Ta'rikh*, I, 409:2–5.]

¹⁰⁰ Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Ta'rikh al-ṣaghīr*, [I, 215:6–8].

¹⁰¹ *Fihrist*, 307:21.

¹⁰² Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr wa-akhbārūhā*, ed. Charles C. Torrey (New Haven, 1922), 104:11–16.

presently. Under 'Umar II (r. AH 99–101) al-Zuhrī decided legal questions; and that 'Umar's successor Yazīd II appointed him judge, is more than once recorded.¹⁰³ But Yazīd II expected from al-Zuhrī quite another sort of knowledge than that which a judge requires for the discharge of his duties. He turned to him not in vain on one occasion [39] when he wished for information as to the author of a poem:

Yazīd and his slave-girl Ḥabbāba were on a roof at night, and she sang him a song of al-Aḥwaṣ. He said to her: "Who composed this song?" She replied: "By thine eyes, I know not." Half the night had already gone when he said: "Send to al-Zuhrī, perhaps he knows something about it." Then they went to al-Zuhrī and knocked at his door, and he went to Yazīd full of fear. When he had climbed up to him, Yazīd said to him: "Fear not. I have summoned thee only for something good. Sit down! Who composed this song?" "Al-Aḥwaṣ ibn Muḥammad,¹⁰⁴ O Prince of Believers." "What is he doing?" "He has been long in exile in Dahlak." "I am surprised at 'Umar¹⁰⁵ that he [has so neglected him],"¹⁰⁶ exclaimed Yazīd. Thereupon he ordered him to be set at liberty and presented him with 400 *dīnārs*. Al-Zuhrī, for his part, returned and carried the glad news to his folk, the Anṣār.¹⁰⁷

Just as here al-Zuhrī contributed to the release of one of his Medinan fellow-countrymen, so did he at other times seek to benefit the folk of his native city. He gave pieces of good advice to the governor of Ḥijāz appointed by Yazīd in AH 101, before he went to his post, which advice, however, the new governor for his own advantage did not follow.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰³ Al-Dhahabī/Fischer, *Biographien*, 72:5–6; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif*, 239:9 [(ed. 'Ukkāsha), 472:10; Abū Zur'a, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 202:7–9].

¹⁰⁴ The Medinan poet, whom the caliph Sulaymān had exiled to Dahlak.

¹⁰⁵ I.e. 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, the successor of Sulaymān.

¹⁰⁶ [In the published English text: "did not grieve for him"; in the Arabic (*Aghānī*, IV, 248:11): *kayfa aghfalahu*.]

¹⁰⁷ *Aghānī*, IV, [248:5–12. Al-Aḥwaṣ was of the clan of Ḍubay'a from the tribe of al-Aws in Medina, and thus was counted as an Anṣārī.]

¹⁰⁸ Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 1452:9–19.

[40] Al-Zuhrī was famous for his liberality. [Fā'id] ibn Aṣram sang its praises in a poem,¹⁰⁹ and Qurra ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān has said of al-Zuhrī: "Never have I seen any one to whom *dīnārs* and *dirhams* mean so little as they do to him."¹¹⁰ No wonder that he was ever deep in debts, which the new caliph, Hishām (r. AH 105–25), paid for him.¹¹¹ The latter helped him also with the education of his children,¹¹² and drew him as well as Abū l-Zinād into his society:

Once al-Zuhrī went into the presence of Hishām, when Abū l-Zinād was also present.¹¹³ Hishām said to him: "In which month usually is the pay given out to the people of Medina?" Al-Zuhrī replied: "I know not." Abū l-Zinād, however, answered: "In Muḥarram." Then Hishām said to al-Zuhrī: O Abū Bakr, that is a piece of knowledge thou hast gained to-day." "It is besides befitting the society of the Prince of Believers that one should gain knowledge there," replied al-Zuhrī.¹¹⁴

The intercourse between the caliph and his learned court theologian, as al-Zuhrī has been called, did not always run so smoothly. We possess an account of al-Shāfi'ī, [41] which the last-named had learnt from his uncle and which runs:

Sulaymān ibn Yasār went in once to the presence of Hishām, who asked him: "Who is the person intended in the verse of the Qur'ān that runs: 'He who undertook to magnify it'."¹¹⁵ He replied: "It

¹⁰⁹ Al-Dhahabī/Fischer, *Biographien*, 71:8–10. [In the published English text: "Qā'id ibn Asram", as in Fischer's edition; but Qā'id as a personal name is to my knowledge unattested in ancient Arab prosopography.]

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 68:11–12.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 70:8–9.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 70:9.

¹¹³ [It bears notice that al-Zuhrī also spend much time at al-Ruṣāfa during the caliphate of Hishām. See Lecker, "Biographical Notes," 27, 32–33; Barbara Kellner-Heinkele, "Ruṣāfa in den arabischen Quellen," in Dorothee Sack, ed., *Rusafa IV. Die Grosse Moschee von Resafa-Rusafat Hishām* (Mainz, 1986), 133–54.]

¹¹⁴ Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, I, 571:27–30 [(ed. 'Abbās), IV, 177:15–19].

¹¹⁵ I.e. the slander of 'Ā'isha in Sūrat al-Nūr (24), v. 11. [On this episode see Caetani, *Annali dell'Islam*, I, 604–606 §§14–15 (AH 5); Frantz Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammads*, trans. H.H. Schaeder (Leipzig, 1930), 281–84; Nabia Abbott, *'Ā'isha—the Beloved of Mohammed* (Chicago, 1942), 29–38; John Wansbrough, *The Sectarian Milieu: Content and Compo-*

was 'Abd Allāh ibn Ubayy." "Thou liest," cried the caliph, "it was 'Alī. O Ibn Shihāb, who was it?" "'Abd Allāh ibn Ubayy." "Thou liest; it was 'Alī." "I lie? By Allāh, if a voice from Heaven proclaimed that Allāh had permitted lying, still I would not lie. We have heard Sa'īd ibn al-Musayyab, 'Urwa, ['Ubayd Allāh] and 'Alqama [ibn Waqqāṣ]¹¹⁶ announce in the name of 'Ā'isha that 'he who undertook to magnify it' was 'Abd Allāh ibn Ubayy." Then the people urged one another on against him, but Hishām said: "Go away! It is not fitting that we should pass on traditions transmitted by a man like thee!" Then said al-Zuhrī: "What! Have I used force to thee, or thou to me? Leave me alone!" "No," answered the caliph, "but thou hast debts amounting to one million." "Thou knowest, and thy father knew it, that I never laid that sum on thee or on thy father as a debt." Then Hishām said: "We wish not to excite the shaykh," spoke a word and paid a million for him. This was told to al-Zuhrī, whereupon he said: "Praise be to Allāh from whom this comes."¹¹⁷

According to other accounts, it was not Hishām but al-Walīd, who made the vain attempt to induce al-Zuhrī to transfer the guilt of Ibn Ubayy to 'Alī.¹¹⁸

[42] Abū l-Zinād reports another conversation of al-Zuhrī with Hishām:

I went into the presence of Hishām when al-Zuhrī was with him, and they both were blaming the prince al-Walīd ibn Yazīd. I held aloof and took no part in the discourse concerning him. Shortly after, permission was begged for al-Walīd to enter, he obtained permission, came in, sat down full of rage, and went away again. After Hishām was dead and al-Walīd had assumed the government, he wrote to Medina and I was summoned and came before

sition of *Islamic Salvation History* (Oxford, 1978), 76–79; John Burton, "Those Are the High-Flying Cranes," *JSS* 15 (1970), 246–65; Juynboll, "Early Islamic Society," 179–85; Schoeler, *Charakter und Authentie*, 119–70.]

¹¹⁶[These two parts of names are missing from the published English text. The first refers to 'Ubayd Allāh ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Utba, who will be discussed by Horovitz below.]

¹¹⁷Al-Dhahabī/Fischer, *Biographien*, 72:10–73:8. [Cf. Duri, *Rise of Historical Writing*, 119.]

¹¹⁸Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, III, 109:3 *Maghāzī* no. 34. Cf. also the parallel passages in Ibn Hajar, *Fath al-bārī fī sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* (Cairo, AH 1319–29), VII, 307:2–308:22; also Fück, *Muḥammad ibn Ishāq*, 10 n. 34.

him, and he said: "Rememberest thou the words of the Squinter¹¹⁹ and al-Zuhrī?" "Yes, but I took no kind of part therein." "That is true. Knowest thou who told me?" "No." "The servant who stood before him. If the criminal al-Zuhrī were still alive, I would have killed him."¹²⁰

But al-Zuhrī too had been well aware of what he had to expect if al-Walīd came to power, and had decided to flee into the territory of the Byzantine empire as soon as Hishām should die.¹²¹ He did not, however, live till the accession of al-Walīd II (AH 125). He died on the seventeenth of Ramaḍān AH 124,¹²² and was buried at Shaghb in the Ḥijāz on the estate that the ruling family had bestowed on him.¹²³

[43] Even after his migration to Damascus al-Zuhrī often stayed in the Ḥijāz.¹²⁴ As late as in AH 119 we find him engaged in the pilgrimage.¹²⁵ But above all he had spent his student years in Medina and had laid the foundation of that learning that later procured him such great influence in the capital of the caliph. He himself tells us how he first studied the genealogy of his own race with 'Abd Allāh ibn Tha'laba; then, when his teacher referred a man who addressed a question on the law of marriage to him to Sa'īd ibn al-Musayyab, he too had recourse to Sa'īd:

Sa'īd had great consideration among men on account of his personal qualities, his complete abstemiousness and purity, because he spoke the truth before the rulers and others, held aloof from the mighty, and possessed a learning that no other equalled and a well-grounded judgment. I dared not face him with a point-blank question, but I said: "Such and such a man has said so and so," whereupon he used to answer.¹²⁶

Similarly it is stated in another account:

¹¹⁹*Al-Aḥwal*, i.e. Hishām.

¹²⁰*Aghānī*, [VII, 11:8–15].

¹²¹*Ibid.*, [VII, 12:3–6].

¹²²Al-Dhahabī/Fischer, *Biographien*, 74:4–5.

¹²³Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif*, 239:10–11 [(ed. 'Ukkāsha), 472:11–13]. Cf. also Fück, *Muḥammad ibn Ishāq*, 10 n. 39.

¹²⁴Al-Dhahabī/Fischer, *Biographien*, 70:7.

¹²⁵Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, II, 1635:1–3.

¹²⁶Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II.2, 131:20–25.

We sat with Ibn al-Musayyab without questioning him till a man came and addressed a question to him. That roused him to impart *ḥadīth* to us, or he of his own accord began to impart it.¹²⁷

Tha'laba ibn Abī Malik, also, directed al-Zuhrī to Sa'īd, and he "sat for ten long years with him as it [44] had been a day."¹²⁸ With Sa'īd, al-Zuhrī reckons three other men as "the four seas of Quraysh": 'Urwa, Abū Salama ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān and 'Ubayd Allāh ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Utba;¹²⁹ and he compares the substance of the learning he received from 'Urwa, whom he distinguishes as "the inexhaustible sea,"¹³⁰ with what he obtained from 'Ubayd Allāh:

I frequented the society of no learned man without being convinced of having attained that which he possessed. I went to 'Urwa until I heard from him nothing but what was familiar. It was different with 'Ubayd Allāh. Never did I come to him without finding some new learning.¹³¹

For 'Ubayd Allāh, al-Zuhrī also performed services such as beseem a pupil: "I used to draw water for him, and when he said to his slave-girl: 'Who is at the door?,' she answered: 'Thy slave with the tearful eyes.'"¹³² 'Ubayd Allāh, who as we have already seen (in a former article)¹³³ was also a poet—Ibn 'Abd al-Barr said of him that there was never a *faqīh* who was a greater poet and never a poet who had a better knowledge of *fiqh* than 'Ubayd Allāh¹³⁴—also addressed verses to al-Zuhrī that are preserved in the *Kitāb al-aghānī*.¹³⁵

Because al-Zuhrī had taken to himself the learning of 'Urwa, Sa'īd and 'Ubayd Allāh, 'Irāk ibn Mālik [45] calls him the most learned of the Medinans.¹³⁶ Similar approving judgments are frequent, and the one thing that is

¹²⁷ Al-Dhahabī/Fischer, *Biographien*, [69:4–5].

¹²⁸ Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II.2, 131:26–28.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, II.2, 131:4–5.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, II.2, 134:22–25.

¹³¹ Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, VII, 23pu–24:1.

¹³² Al-Dhahabī/Fischer, *Biographien*, 71:3–5.

¹³³ [Above, 11–12.]

¹³⁴ [Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, 24:15–16.]

¹³⁵ *Aghānī*, [IX, 146:14–16].

¹³⁶ Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, IX, 448:17–449:1.

objected to him is the intimate intercourse with the Umayyad caliph. Thus Makḥūl exclaims: "What a man is al-Zuhrī: if he only had not spoilt himself by his commerce with the king!"¹³⁷ Al-Zuhrī himself, however, when contrasting the taciturnity of one of his pupils with his own readiness to impart his knowledge, boasts: "Never has a human being spread this knowledge as I have spread it, nor given it away as I have given it."¹³⁸ Famed also is his versatility. Al-Layth says:

I have never seen any one who possessed more learning than al-Zuhrī. If thou wert to hear him speak, exhorting men to goodness, thou wouldst say: "This man alone understands it properly"; if thou wert to hear him discourse of genealogy, thou wouldst say: "This man alone has knowledge of it, and when he speaks of the Qur'ān and the *sunna*, then his *ḥadīth* is something comprehensive."¹³⁹

To Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd's question to his father: "In what did al-Zuhrī surpass you?,"¹⁴⁰ the father replied:

He used to approach assemblies from the front and not from behind, in no assembly did he leave a youth or grown-up man or old woman of maturity unquestioned; then he went to the houses of the Anṣār and there too he left no youth nor grown-up man, nor crone nor full-grown woman unquestioned, and he succeeded in visiting even ladies in their chambers.¹⁴¹

According to Ibn Sa'd the answer runs somewhat otherwise:

Ibn Shihāb [46] was preferred above us in learning only because we approached assemblies whereas he confronted them, tucked up his cloak and questioned as he pleased, while our youth hindered us from doing the like.¹⁴²

¹³⁷ Al-Dhahabī/Fischer, *Biographien*, 72:7–8.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 69:1–2.

¹³⁹ Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, IX, [449:4–7].

¹⁴⁰ ["You" in the plural: i.e. in what way was al-Zuhrī a better scholar than all others.]

¹⁴¹ Al-Dhahabī/Fischer, *Biographien*, 69:8–11.

¹⁴² Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II.2, 135:22–24.

His indefatigable zeal for collecting reports was supported by a remarkable memory, which he tried to strengthen by the use of honey: "He used to hold nightly converse with honey as the wine-drinker does with wine."¹⁴³ It is related that Hishām once put his memory to the proof; he asked him to dictate something for one of his sons, whereupon he called a scribe and dictated to him [400] *aḥādīth*.¹⁴⁴ When, after some time, Hishām again met al-Zuhrī he said: "The dictation has been lost." "That is no matter," answered al-Zuhrī, called for a scribe and dictated the *aḥādīth*; and when Hishām compared them with the first dictation he found not a single letter left out.¹⁴⁵

For compilers of *ḥadīth* to write down the reports collected by them for their own use was, as we have seen, not uncommon even among the *tābi'ūn*. One such, al-Zuhrī's fellow-student and later his companion at the court of Hishām, Abū l-Zinād, relates of him: "I used to go about with al-Zuhrī, who had tablets and sheets of paper with him, for which we laughed at him; he, however, wrote down all that he heard."¹⁴⁶ Similarly Muḥammad ibn 'Ikrima reports: "Ibn Shihāb went often to al-A'raj, who used to write down copies of the Qur'ān, in order to question him about *ḥadīth*, which he then wrote down and, when he had committed it to memory, tore up the page."¹⁴⁷ [47] And Ṣāliḥ ibn Kaysān likewise relates:

I and al-Zuhrī, both of us, were seekers after knowledge. And he said: "Come! let us write down the traditions (*al-sunan*)," and we wrote down all that came from the Prophet (Allāh bless and keep him!). Then he said: "Come! let us write down what has come from the Companions," and he wrote but I wrote not, so he succeeded and I failed.¹⁴⁸

In all these accounts it is a question of notes taken down for personal use. That such notes should be made accessible to the public was, however, some-

¹⁴³ Al-Dhahabī/Fischer, *Biographien*, 70:14. [On the use of honey (from antiquity onwards) to improve memory, see Ibn al-Jazzār, *On Forgetfulness and its Treatment*, ed. and trans. Gerrit Bos (London, 1995), 35:6–12 (Arabic text), 42 (trans.), quoting Galen.]

¹⁴⁴ [In the published English text: "a hundred".]

¹⁴⁵ Al-Dhahabī/Fischer, *Biographien*, 69:11–17.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 67:11–13.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 67:14–17.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 67:17–68:1.

thing new.¹⁴⁹ Perhaps 'Umar II was the first to urge the learned to such a course. We have already seen that he gave 'Abd Allāh ibn Abī Bakr a commission to that effect, and according to other accounts al-Zuhrī received a similar charge from him.¹⁵⁰ In a sentence reported by Ma'mar, at any rate, al-Zuhrī makes "these *amīrs*" responsible for his breach with his former custom of reticence. "We had an aversion to record knowledge till these *amīrs* forced us to it; since when we were of the opinion that we should not withhold it from any of the Muslims."¹⁵¹ In fact, Hishām had, as we have seen, commanded him to dictate *ḥadīth* to a scribe, and that he originally had scruples against dictating *ḥadīth* or allowing his lectures to be copied, we may conclude from the evasive answer that he gave to al-Layth when the latter entreated: "O Abū Bakr,¹⁵² [48] if only thou wouldst set down and arrange these books for the people, and wouldst concern thyself with them!" Al-Zuhrī's answer was: "No one has divulged this knowledge more than I have,"¹⁵³ meaning: Everyone can hear from me the *ḥadīth* I have collected, but I cannot bring myself to the decision to make them accessible in written form to the public, as thou wishest. It is probable that this declaration belongs to an earlier time than that before cited, which as good as says: Now that we must make our books accessible to the princes, there is no longer any ground for withholding them from others. However, he went very far in this direction and was blamed for having allowed a volume containing *ḥadīth* reported by him, which was submitted to him for approval, to be passed on to posterity without first looking through it.¹⁵⁴ According to one version

¹⁴⁹ What 'Abd al-Malik wanted from 'Urwa was written information concerning the course of certain events and not communication of the *ḥadīth* concerning them. Perhaps that was the reason why 'Urwa added no *isnād*. [The use of the *isnād* would in any case still have been something of a novelty in 'Urwa's day, as Horovitz had already argued in his "Die Alter und Ursprung des Isnād," 43 (trans. in *SEI*, Chap. 3).]

¹⁵⁰ Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, II, 210 [= *Muslim Studies*, II, 195].

¹⁵¹ Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II.2, 135ult: *fa-ra'aynā an lā yumna'ahu aḥadun min al-muslimīn*; *apud* al-Dhahabī/Fischer, *Biographien*, 71:12: *fa-ra'aytu an lā amna'ahu musliman*. See also Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, II, 38 [= *Muslim Studies*, II, 47].

¹⁵² The *kunya* of al-Zuhrī.

¹⁵³ Al-Dhahabī/Fischer, *Biographien*, 68ult–69:2.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 69:19–21; [Abū Zur'a, *Ta'rikh*, I, 265:1–5; II, 723:10–12. Cf. the long account in al-Khatīb al-Baghdādī, *Al-Kifāya fī 'ilm al-riwāya*, ed. Aḥmad 'Umar Hāshim (Beirut, 1406/1986), 355:1–362:8. This practice, which was called *munāwala*, is discussed in GAS, I, 59; Abbott, *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri*, II, 35; Azmi, *Studies in Early Ḥadīth Literature*, 286. Many of the early Muslim tradents, i.e. not al-Zuhrī in particular, engaged in it.]

it was Ibrāhīm ibn al-Walīd to whom he gave such a permission, though in this connection, as Goldziher has made quite clear,¹⁵⁵ the later caliph of that name can hardly be meant. However that may be, it was possible in that way to adduce in the name of al-Zuhrī, reports that he himself never knew. That he invented *ḥadīth*, in order to promote the interests of the Umayyads, is, however, unacceptable.

From a statement of al-Zuhrī's pupil, Ma'mar, we gather that in the library of the Umayyads at Damascus there were heaps of volumes that contained the learned material collected by al-Zuhrī.¹⁵⁶ The statement runs:

We were of the opinion that we had heard much from al-Zuhrī till al-Walīd was killed; for then volumes from his treasure-chambers were loaded upon beasts of burden. He (Ma'mar) means: filled with the learning of al-Zuhrī.¹⁵⁷

The statement dates from the time following the murder of al-Walīd II in AH 126. Al-Walīd we already know as the enemy of al-Zuhrī. He had, however, no reason to destroy the notes written or dictated by al-Zuhrī at the [49] command of his predecessors. In comparison with this statement of Ma'mar, which amounts to historical evidence, the alleged pious exclamation of al-Zuhrī's wife has only anecdotal importance: "These writings are harder for me to bear than three co-wives!" It is found only in late sources,¹⁵⁸ and moreover concerns only the notes written down for his own use, not those given to the public or to particular customers.¹⁵⁹

Al-Zuhrī himself tells us that he wrote down the "Years of the Caliphs,"¹⁶⁰ a chronological list, from which al-Ṭabarī has preserved two quotations,¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁵Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, II, 38 n. 2 [= *Muslim Studies*, II, 47 n. 1].

¹⁵⁶[On Umayyad-period libraries, see Ahmet Rufai, *Über den Bibliophilie im älteren Islam* (Berlin, 1935); Ruth Stellhorn Mackensen, "Arabic Books and Libraries in the Umayyad Period," *AJSL* 52 (1935-36), 245-53; 53 (1936-37), 239-50; 54 (1937), 41-61; 56 (1939), 149-57; Abbott, *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri*, I, 23-24, 29.]

¹⁵⁷Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II.2, 136:3-8. Cf. also al-Dhahabī/Fischer, *Biographien*, 71:12-14.

¹⁵⁸Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, I, 571:30-32 [(ed. 'Abbās), IV, 177ult-178:2]. Cf. also Abū l-Fidā, [*Al-Mukhtaṣar fī akhbār al-bashar* (Cairo, AH 1325), I, 204:22-24].

¹⁵⁹[On the various views as to whether al-Zuhrī did or did not commit his work to writing, see Schoeler, "Mündliche Thora," 227-28, 229-31; Cook, "Opponents," 459-66.]

¹⁶⁰Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, II, 428:3. [This information is not cited from al-Zuhrī himself, however, but is reported by a later tradent.]

¹⁶¹*Ibid.*, II, 428:4-7, 1269:15-16.

for his grandfather.¹⁶² He further states that at the command of Khālīd ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Qasrī he began a work upon the north Arabian clans, but never finished it.¹⁶³ It is evidently this book that Qurra ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān means when he says: "Al-Zuhrī wrote only one book, the book of the genealogy of his race."¹⁶⁴ Al-Zuhrī received from Khālīd the further commission to write down the *sīra* for him.¹⁶⁵ Besides the collections of material noted down for his own use, therefore, al-Zuhrī composed books at the behest of Khālīd as well as of the Umayyads, and in particular wrote also a *Sīra*. No independent work of his has come down to us, however; but only in the collections of the [50] *aḥādīth* transmitted by him (under the title *al-Zuhrīyāt*) compiled by later writers are preserved a great number of fragments borrowed in the works of biographers of the Prophet and writers on early Islamic history.¹⁶⁶ Al-Zuhrī had, as the quotations in Ibn Sa'd more particularly indicate, dealt with the whole life-story of the Prophet, not only with the *maghāzī* in the narrower sense of the word.¹⁶⁷ He himself already employed the term *sīra* to

¹⁶²[On al-Zuhrī's interest in dating and chronology, see, for example, al-Wāqidi, *Maghāzī*, III, 889:8-13; 'Abd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaf*, V, 357:10-12 no. 9732, 363:9-11 no. 9735, 373:15-374:4 no. 9738, 452:7-466:10 no. 9770; Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaf*, VII, 29:12-13 no. 33,846, 346:18-19 no. 36,609, 409:16-18 no. 36,931; al-Fasawī, *Al-Ma'rifa wa-l-ta'rikh*, III, 250:3-6, 250:18-251:1, 256:3-5, 259:13-17, 296:2-6; Abū Zur'a, *Ta'rikh*, I, 164:3-5, 165:9-166:4, 290:3-6. His role in instilling in his successors a generally accepted chronology for events in the Prophet's life is suggested in Donner, *Narratives of Islamic Origins*, 232-33.]

¹⁶³*Aghānī*, [XXII, 15:8-10].

¹⁶⁴Al-Dhahabī/Fischer, *Biographien*, 68:9-10. [On al-Zuhrī's study of and interest in genealogy, see al-Fasawī, *Al-Ma'rifa wa-l-ta'rikh*, I, 359:2-3, 472:16-17; cf. also III, 164:8-165:13, 167:8-10, 332:2-4. That such a genealogical work was actually compiled, or that a written recension of al-Zuhrī's lectures on the subject was later available, appears to be confirmed by the fact that Muṣ'ab al-Zubayrī cites it in his *Nasab Quraysh*, 3:8-9. In any case, the Damascene tradent 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Yazīd ibn Tamīm al-Sulamī (fl. early third/ninth century?) is said to have had "a book" (*kitāb*) that was written by al-Zuhrī and passed down to al-Sulamī by his forefathers; see al-Fasawī, *Al-Ma'rifa wa-l-ta'rikh*, II, 395:9-11; III, 53:8-9; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, XVII, 483:13-15.]

¹⁶⁵*Aghānī*, [XXII, 15:10-11].

¹⁶⁶[A recension of al-Zuhrī's *Maghāzī* by Ma'mar ibn Rāshid (on whom more will be said by Horovitz below, 73-74) survives in the further recension of 'Abd al-Razzāq in his *Muṣannaf*, V, 313:1-492ult. This recension bears numerous additions and elaborations by both Ma'mar and 'Abd al-Razzāq, but has been reprinted, with additional notes and comments, as the *Maghāzī* of al-Zuhrī in Suhayl Zakkār, ed., *Al-Maghāzī al-nabawīya* (Damascus, 1401/1981). Cf. Jarrar, *Prophetenbiographie*, 26.]

¹⁶⁷[Cf. the summary of citations perhaps drawn from this work in Duri, *Rise of Histor-*

describe the book he wrote at the command of Khālīd.¹⁶⁸

Al-Zuhrī introduces his collected reports generally with *isnād*; often, however, the *isnād* is lacking. Where he has collected several reports, which all concern the same event, he constructs from the various accounts a collective account, which he prefaces with the collected names of the authorities.¹⁶⁹ He also often introduces into his accounts verses of the actors in the events described.¹⁷⁰ We have already seen that he was a connoisseur of poetry,¹⁷¹ and Ḥammād ibn Zayd relates that al-Zuhrī, after he had imparted *ḥadīth*, would say: "Let us now hear something of your poems and stories, for the ear is in its dotage, but the soul is eager."¹⁷²

ical Writing, 99–113; also 'Aṭwān, *Riwāyat al-shāmīyīn*, 84–107, where the tradents and sources in which quotations from al-Zuhrī's *Maghāzī* can be found are studied in detail.]

¹⁶⁸See Fück, *Muḥammad ibn Ishāq*, [10 n. 38. Horovitz is forcing the point here; what Fück says is not that al-Zuhrī himself called his work a *sīra*, but rather that later glosses described it as such.]

¹⁶⁹E.g. Ibn Hishām, I.2, 731:6–9; ['Abd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaf*, V, 410:6–12;] al-Tabarī, *Ta'riḥ*, I, [1518:1–6]; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad* (Cairo, AH 1311), [VI, 194:23–27]; al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, [III, 103ult–104:6 *Maghāzī* no. 34. Al-Zuhrī is usually credited with originating such collective accounts; see, e.g., H.A.R. Gibb, art. "Ta'riḥ" in *EI*¹, Supp. (Leiden, 1938), 235a; Duri, *Rise of Historical Writing*, 29, 111; Michael Lecker, "Wāqidi's Account of the Status of the Jews of Medina: a Study of a Combined Report," *JNES* 54 (1995), 19 (referring to "Zuhrī's method"). But a simple form of it is already attested with his teacher 'Urwa ibn al-Zubayr (Eduard Sachau, "Das Berliner Fragment des Mūsā ibn 'Uḫba: Ein Beitrag zur Kenntniss des ältesten arabischen Geschichtsliteratur," *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 1904, no. 9, 466:10–11; Ibn Hishām, I.2, 803:3–5), and while al-Zuhrī did use similarly simple forms of it (as in, for example, Sachau, "Berliner Fragment," 464–70), the fully mature "collective *isnād*", in which the tradent names numerous authorities and their own sources, states that each has contributed part of the story, warns that some have been remembered more than others, and says that he has synthesized these into a single account, is still exceedingly rare with al-Zuhrī. Though he commonly appears in the collective *isnāds* of other *later* tradents, such as Ibn Ishāq and al-Wāqidi, a mature collective *isnād* of his own is attested only for the "Affair of the Lie", to which all of the examples at the beginning of this note refer. The overtly "collective account" bearing a "collective *isnād*" does not become at all common until the generation of al-Zuhrī's student, Ibn Ishāq, and it is not at all clear that al-Zuhrī's role in these important developments was in any way significant.]

¹⁷⁰[E.g. al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Muwaffaqiyāt*, 197:6–199:11, 325:3–13; Ibn Ḥamdūn, *Tadhkira*, III, 205:10–206:1 no. 626; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntazam*, IV, 57:8–16. On al-Zuhrī's use of poetry, see 'Aṭwān, *Riwāyat al-shāmīyīn*, 112.]

¹⁷¹[Sufyān ibn 'Uyayna relates that he heard al-Zuhrī and "Umar" (ibn Abī Rabī'a?) reciting poetry in their sessions in the Masjid al-Ḥarām in Mecca; al-Fasawī, *Al-Ma'rifa wa-l-ta'riḥ*, II, 19:3–4. Cf. also *ibid.*, III, 259:2–11.]

¹⁷²Al-Dhahabī/Fischer, *Biographien*, 73:13–15.

CHAPTER III

The Students of al-Zuhrī

[164] THREE OF AL-ZUHRĪ'S STUDENTS are known to us as the authors of books on the *maghāzī*: Mūsā ibn 'Uqba, Ma'mar ibn Rāshid and Muḥammad ibn Ishāq, who all three sprang not from the Islamic noblesse but from the stratum of the *mawālī* (bondmen).¹

Mūsā ibn 'Uqba ibn Abī 'Ayyāsh² was a *mawlā* of the family of al-Zubayr

¹[Cf. Jamal Juda, *Die sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Aspekte der Mawālī in früh-islamischer Zeit* (Tübingen, 1983); Patricia Crone, *Roman, Provincial and Islamic Law: the Origins of the Islamic Patronate* (Cambridge, 1987); Harald Motzki, "The Role of Non-Arab Converts in the Development of Early Islamic Law," *ILS* 6 (1999), 1–25. The proceedings of an important Nijmegen conference on the *mawālī* and the early Islamic patronate will soon be published by John Nawas and Monique Bernards.]

²[SOURCES: Ibn Sa'd, *Al-Qism al-mutammim*, 340:4–341:1 no. 248; Yaḥyā ibn Ma'in, *Ta'riḥ*, II, 594:12–18; Khalifa ibn Khayyāt, *Ta'riḥ*, II, 437:2–3; *idem*, *Ṭabaqāt*, 268:5–7; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Al-'Ilal wa-ma'rifat al-rijāl*, IV, 325:10–14; al-Bukhārī, *Al-Ta'riḥ al-kabīr*, IV.1, 292:7–10 no. 1247; *idem*, *Al-Ta'riḥ al-awsaṭ*, II, 58:4–8 no. 1165; *idem*, *Al-Ta'riḥ al-ṣaghīr*, II, 70:4–6; al-'Ijlī, *Ta'riḥ al-thiqāt*, 444pu no. 1661; al-Fasawī, *Al-Ma'rifa wa-l-ta'riḥ*, III, 32:8–13, 371:12–15; Abū Zur'a, *Ta'riḥ*, I, 558:3–7; al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'riḥ*, II, 435:11; Ibn Abī Ḥatīm, *Al-Jarḥ wa-l-ta'dīl*, IV.1, 154:7–155:2 no. 693; Ibn Hibbān, *Thiqāt*, V, 404:10–405:2; *idem*, *Mashāḥir 'ulamā' al-amṣār*, 80:16–17 no. 584; Ibn al-Qaysarānī, *Jam'*, II, 483:9–16 no. 1873; Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'riḥ madīnat Dimashq*, LX, 456:10–468ult no. 7738; al-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-asmā'*, 582:13–583:2; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, XXIX, 115ult–122:4 no. 6282; al-Dhahabī, *Mizān al-i'tidāl*, IV, 214:17–18 no. 8897; *idem*, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz*, I, 148:8–16 no. 141; *idem*, *Ta'riḥ al-islām*, AH 141–60, 299:9–300pu; *idem*, *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'*, VI, 114:6–118:12 no. 31; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfi bi-l-wafayāt*, I, 7:9; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, X, 360:14–362ult no. 638; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, I, 209:17–210:3.

MODERN STUDIES: Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtschreiber*, 6 no. 21; Sachau, "Einleitung," xx–xxi; *idem*, "Das Berliner Fragment des Mūsā ibn 'Uḫba," Fück, *Muḥammad*

ibn al-'Awwām, or more precisely of al-Zubayr's wife, Umm Khālid.³ His grandfather on the mother's side was likewise a *mawlā* of Ibn al-Zubayr,⁴ with whose family his was also closely associated. The year of his birth is uncertain; a chronological indication is provided, however, in the answer that 'Uqba gave to the question whether he had ever seen one of the Companions of the Prophet: "I undertook the pilgrimage at the time when 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar was in Mecca; that was the same year in which Najda, the Ḥarūrī,⁵ was present there."⁶ Al-Ṭabarī has preserved for us a report concerning this presence of Najda and his horde in Mecca. He relates: "In the year 68⁷ four pennons waved in 'Arafāt: that of Ibn al-Ḥanafiya, that of Ibn al-Zubayr, that of Najda behind them, and that of the Umayyads to the left of them."⁸ Al-Ṭabarī then adds: "Ibn 'Umar began his agitation as Ibn al-Zubayr broke up;"⁹ thus there can be no doubt but that the pilgrimage of Mūsā ibn 'Uqba took place in the year AH 68; he would [165] therefore have been born anyhow not much later than AH 55. As al-Wāqidī states, Mūsā was accustomed to forgather with his brothers Ibrāhīm and Muḥammad in the Prophet's mosque in Medina for the purpose of study;¹⁰ both his brothers, like him, were experts

ibn Ishāq, 11–12; GAL, I, 134; SI, 205; Joseph Schacht, "On Mūsā b. 'Uqba's *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*," AO 21 (1953), 288–300; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'jam al-mu'allifin*, XIII, 43a; Jones, "Muqaddima," 24–25; GAS, I, 286–87; Faruqi, *Early Muslim Historiography*, 261–71; al-Ziriklī, *Al-A'lām*, VII, 325b; Duri, *Rise of Historical Writing*, 32–33; Jarrar, *Prophetenbiographie*, 71–76, 205–206; Motzki, *Anfänge*, 200–201; art. "Mūsā ibn 'Uqba" in EI², VII (Leiden, 1993), 644a; Donner, *Narratives of Islamic Origins*, 220, 302; Schoeler, "Mūsā b. 'Uqbas *Maghāzī*," 67–97.]

³Ibn Hajar, X, 360:14–15; Fischer, "Neue Auszüge," 436:3–437:1.

⁴Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 221:2–3.

⁵A leader of the Khārijites [i.e. Najda ibn 'Āmir, a commander of the Azāriqa during the Second Civil War; see Rotter, *Die Umayyaden und der Zweite Bürgerkrieg*, 83–84].

⁶Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, X, 362:15. [Cf. Rotter, *Die Umayyaden und der Zweite Bürgerkrieg*, 83–84.]

⁷Therefore still in the time of 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr's anti-caliphate.

⁸Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, II, 781pu–782:4 [the translation here is heavily truncated].

⁹[Pickthall's translation of Horovitz' German text here is inaccurate. The context is the *wuqūf*, or "standing", at 'Arafāt during the pilgrimage. Due to the dissension of the Second Civil War, the pilgrims have divided into four different factions under banners proclaiming their loyalty to various leaders. 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar is not engaged in "agitation", but is hurrying back from 'Arafāt with Ibn al-Zubayr after the latter has begun the return to Mecca. For clarification of this passage, see Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 75:13–76:3.]

¹⁰Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, X, [362:5–7]; Fischer, "Neue Auszüge," 438:2–4.

in *ḥadīth* and *fiqh*, but only of Mūsā, the youngest, is it reported that he furnished legal judgments. We hear nothing else concerning his activity in public life and, as it seems, he kept up no relations with the court of the Umayyads. His death took place about a decade after the destruction of that dynasty, in the year AH 141.¹¹

Mūsā ranks as a special expert in the *maghāzī*, and Mālik ibn Anas says: "You must hold to the *maghāzī* of Mūsā, for he is trustworthy," or, according to another version: "He is a trustworthy man who, in spite of his great age, has collected the *māghāzī*, and does not bring too much of them, as others have done."¹² According to this, Mūsā's book was probably less in bulk than other works that treated of the same theme, and probably Mālik in his utterance is hitting at Ibn Ishāq, with whose *Kitāb al-maghāzī*, as we know,¹³ he often has fault to find. The *maghāzī* of Mūsā were handed on by his nephew Ismā'īl ibn Ibrāhīm ibn 'Uqba,¹⁴ who died in AH 158, and Yāqūt makes use of them in his rescript of Abū Nu'aym.¹⁵ The work has not been preserved to us or, more accurately, nothing is known of its existence. Aloys Sprenger was assured in Damascus that a copy did exist of which he was, however, unable to obtain a sight. (Al-Diyārbakrī, the author of the *Ta'rikh khamīs*, completed in AH 940, has, it appears, made use of the work.¹⁶) We, however, still possess only an abstract that contains one or several *aḥādīth* from each of the ten *ajzā'* (parts) of the work; it is in the Prussian State Library and was published in original text and German translation by Eduard Sachau in 1904.¹⁷ From this abstract it appears, as

¹¹Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, X, [362:7–11]; Fischer, "Neue Auszüge," 438:4–6; al-Bukhārī, *Al-Ta'rikh al-ṣaḡhūr*, [II, 70:3–6].

¹²Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, X, 361:9–12. [Mālik's further praise of Mūsā ibn 'Uqba is recorded in al-Fasawī, *Al-Ma'rifa wa-l-ta'rikh*, III, 371:12–15.]

¹³[See below, 78.]

¹⁴Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 310:4; Sachau, "Berliner Fragment," 449.

¹⁵Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 1008:13–14. Cf. also III, 872:5–6. [The English translation errs here. What Yāqūt says is that he had access to a copy of the *Maghāzī* of Mūsā ibn 'Uqba in the handwriting of Abū Nu'aym, i.e. Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣfahānī.]

¹⁶Al-Diyārbakrī, *Ta'rikh al-khamīs fī aḥwāl anfas nafīs* (Cairo, AH 1302), II, 60:24; cf. also I, 539:29. [The work was apparently already known to the tradent Yūsuf ibn Khālid al-Samtī (d. 189/805); see al-Fasawī, *Al-Ma'rifa wa-l-ta'rikh*, III, 32:8–13. Later Ibn Abī l-Dam (d. 642/1244) also cast eyes on it; see al-Sakhāwī, *Al-I'lān bi-l-tawbikh li-man dhamma l-ta'rikh*, trans. Franz Rosenthal in his *History of Muslim Historiography*, 2nd ed. (Leiden, 1968), 515.]

¹⁷[As noted above. Cf. also now Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Aḥādīth muntakhaba min Maghāzī Mūsā ibn 'Uqba*, ed. Mashhūr Ḥasan Salmān (Beirut, 1412/1991).]

was to be expected, that the work of Mūsā was not restricted to the *maghāzī* in the narrower sense of the word, but at the least includes the *hijra* in its purview; further, that al-Zuhrī was [166] the weightiest authority of Mūsā, as was already to be concluded from the verdict of Ibn Maʿīn: "Mūsā's book going back to al-Zuhrī is among the most trustworthy of these writings."¹⁸ The assertion, made without quoting any authority, that Mūsā had heard no traditions from al-Zuhrī¹⁹ must deserve no credit, or can in any case only be accepted in the sense that Mūsā was indebted for the statements of al-Zuhrī not to his direct instruction but to the communications of one of his students, or to his written notes. In the Berlin abstract, at the places where he quotes al-Zuhrī, Mūsā mostly employs the formula: *qāla Ibn Shihāb*, "Ibn Shihāb said", or *zaʿama Ibn Shihāb*, "Ibn Shihāb contended", which both can indicate written notes of al-Zuhrī; but once at least in this Berlin abstract he uses the formula: *ḥaddathanī al-Zuhrī*, "al-Zuhrī narrated to me".²⁰

Besides in the Berlin abstract, we find numerous quotations from Mūsā's work also in Ibn Sa'd, who likewise used the work in the edition of Mūsā's nephew Ismā'il.²¹ From the quotations in the third and fourth volumes of Ibn Sa'd it results that Mūsā's work contained lists of the emigrants to Abyssinia, of the participators in the pacts of 'Aqaba, and above all of the men who fought at Badr—lists such as Shuraḥbīl ibn Sa'd²² had prepared. Mālik is reported to have said of these lists: "Those who are named in Mūsā's book as having fought at Badr did actually take part in the battle of Badr, while those whose names he does not mention did not."²³ Ibn Sa'd's teacher also, al-Wāqidi, has borrowed various statements from Mūsā's work; in his *Kitāb*

¹⁸Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, X, 361ult–362:1.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, X, 362:18–19.

²⁰[On this work see Schacht, "On Mūsā b. 'Uqba's *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*," 288–300; and the recent counterarguments in Gregor Schoeler, "Mūsā b. 'Uqba's *Maghāzī*," 67–97.]

²¹Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II.1, 1:14; III.1, 1:17–18. [Cf. Sachau, "Einleitung," xx–xxi. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr also names "the book of Mūsā ibn 'Uqba" as one of his two main authorities (with Ibn Ishāq in the recension of Ibn Hishām) in his *Al-Durar fī ikhtisār al-maghāzī wa-l-siyar*, ed. Muṣṭafā Dīb al-Bughā (Damascus, 1404/1984), 7:1–8:1. Cf. further Jarrar, *Prophetenbiographie*, 71–76, on the transmission of Mūsā's *Maghāzī* in al-Andalus. In *GAS*, I, 287, Sezgin cites over 200 citations from it in the *Iṣāba* of Ibn Ḥajar and refers to many others in the *ʿUyūn al-athar* of Ibn Sayyid al-Nās. An attempt to reconstitute the text has been made in Abdu Braimah, "A Reconstruction of the Lost *Kitāb al-maghāzī* of Mūsā ibn 'Uqba," M.A. thesis (American University in Cairo, 1968).]

²²Above, 30.

²³Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, X, 361:12–13.

al-maghāzī he quotes him only seldom,²⁴ it is true, but Ibn Sa'd received several of Mūsā's reports through al-Wāqidi as intermediary.²⁵ Al-Ṭabarī also has incorporated a number of Mūsā's traditions in his chronicle; in addition to such as refer to the time of the Prophet, several also concerning the time of the Rāshidūn caliphs and even concerning the time of the Umayyads.²⁶ That he [167] devoted his attention to the prefatory history of Islam his notice of Zayd ibn 'Amr, preserved in the *Kitāb al-aghānī*, shows.²⁷ Among his authorities—the system of the *isnād* is the rule with him, and only in a few of the preserved extracts from him does he name no sponsor—is first and foremost his maternal grandfather, Abū Ḥabība, who informs him of an occurrence so late as in AH 91.²⁸ From the *isnād* it is only seldom to be known with certainty how far the accounts concerned are borrowed from the written records of older authorities; in one place, however, Mūsā expressly mentions such records of Ibn al-'Abbās as [were]²⁹ made use of by him: "Kurayb³⁰ left with us a camel load of the writings of Ibn al-'Abbās, and if Ibn al-'Abbās' son 'Alī wanted a manuscript he asked in writing for the *ṣaḥīfa* to be sent to him, which was then copied out for him."³¹ Besides such *ṣuḥuf* of his predecessors, Mūsā had also at his disposal copies of original documents; he quotes verbatim a letter addressed by the Prophet to al-Mundhir ibn [Sāwī].³² Mūsā's book also contains chronological data³³ and occasionally, if perhaps

²⁴See al-Wāqidi/Wellhausen, 80, 344, 403 [= *Maghāzī* (ed. Jones), I, 144:18; II, 850:4–853:3; III, 1025:7–1029:10; cf. also II, 849:9–850:3; III, 890:1–4].

²⁵E.g. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III.1, 241:23–27; [VIII], 10:6–7, 11:9–10, 171:23–24, 190:26–27, 191:6–7. I am indebted for these and other informations concerning the authorities cited in Ibn Sa'd to the kindness of Herr Dr. W. Gottschalk, who communicated them to me from the manuscript *Index* to Ibn Sa'd. [This index of authorities, i.e. of names mentioned in the *isnāds*, was never published, probably due to unfavourable conditions in Germany in the wake of the First World War. Cf. Walther Gottschalk, "Über den dritten Teil der Indices zur Berliner Ibn Saad-Ausgabe," *ZDMG* 105 (1955), 105–14.]

²⁶Ibn Sa'd, V, 282ult–283:3; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, XI (ed. Ahlwardt), 230:15–231:3. [Cf. also the numerous citations in al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, V (ed. 'Abbās), index, 690.]

²⁷*Aghānī*, III, [126:1–127:8].

²⁸Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, II, 1231:15–1232:5.

²⁹[Missing from the published English text.]

³⁰The *mawla* of 'Abd Allāh ibn al-'Abbās who died in AH 98.

³¹Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 216:15–18.

³²Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 80:18–81:2. [In the published English text: "Sawa".]

³³E.g. al-Diyārbakrī, *Khamīs*, I, 539:29.

but rarely, he quotes poems too.³⁴

Ma'mar ibn Rāshid,³⁵ born at al-Baṣra about AH 96,³⁶ was a *mawlā* of the sept Banū [Huddān],³⁷ belonging to the family of Azd. In his youth he heard the renowned *muḥaddith* of al-Baṣra, Qatāda ibn Di'āma (who died in AH 114³⁸) and afterwards took to travelling in order to enlarge his knowledge.

³⁴E.g. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III.1, 241:23–27; [al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Muwaffaqiyāt*, 121:12–21].

³⁵[SOURCES: Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 397:12–24; Yahyā ibn Ma'im, *Ta'rikh*, II, 577:1–21; Khalifa ibn Khayyāt, *Ta'rikh*, II, 455:8; *idem*, *Ṭabaqāt*, 288:12–13; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Al-'Ilal wa-ma'rifa al-rijāl*, IV, 318:18–319:6; al-Bukhārī, *Al-Ta'rikh al-kabīr*, IV.1, 378:15–379:4 no. 1631; *idem*, *Al-Ta'rikh al-awsat*, II, 90:1–3 no. 1211; *idem*, *Al-Ta'rikh al-ṣaghīr*, II, 115:1–3; al-'Ijlī, *Ta'rikh al-thiqāt*, 435:7–12 no. 1611; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif* (ed. 'Ukkāsha), 506:5–10; al-Fasawī, *Al-Ma'rifa wa-l-ta'rikh*, I, 139:1–2, 140pu; II, 49:6–9, 141pu–142:1, 199:6–9, 200:10–13, 240:9–10, 287:8–13, 819:15–17, 827:9–11; III, 12:7–10, 29:8–9, 30:5, 157:13–15, 158:16–19; Abū Zur'a, *Ta'rikh*, I, 300:8–9; al-Dūlābī, *Al-Kunā wa-l-asmā'*, II, 30:17–26; Ibn Abī Ḥatim, *Al-Jarḥ wa-l-ta'dīl*, IV.1, 255:13–257:20 no. 1165; al-Azdī, *Ta'rikh al-Mawṣil*, 217:1–2; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Thiqāt*, VII, 484:6–11; *idem*, *Mashāḥir 'ulamā' al-amṣār*, 192:7–10 no. 1543; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 94:10–12; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Al-Sābiq wa-l-lāḥiq*, 341:1–13 no. 193; Ibn al-Qaysarānī, *Jam'*, II, 506:2–6 no. 1968; Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh madīnat Dimashq*, LIX, 390:11–422:11 no. 7574; al-Ja'dī, *Ṭabaqāt fuqahā' al-Yaman*, 66:3–10; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntazam*, VIII, 171:12–16 no. 824; Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī l-ta'rikh*, V, 594:6–7; al-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-asmā'*, 569:11–570:13; al-Yāfi'i, *Mir'āt al-janān*, I, 323:2–8; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, XXVIII, 303:4–312:1 no. 6104; al-Dhahabī, *Mizān al-i'tidāl*, IV, 154:3–18 no. 8682; *idem*, *Al-Mughnī fī l-ḍu'afā'*, 671:7–10 no. 6365; *idem*, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz*, I, 190:3–191:5 no. 184; *idem*, *Ta'rikh al-islām*, AH 141–60, 625pu–631:3; *idem*, *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'*, VII, 5:1–18:6 no. 1; Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya*, X, 111:9; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, X, 243:11–246:2 no. 439; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-I'lān bi-l-tawbikh* (trans. Rosenthal), 518; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, I, 235:7–15.

MODERN STUDIES: Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'jam al-mu'allifin*, XII, 309a–b; GAS, I, 290–91; Fuat Sezgin, "Hadis musannafatının mebdai ve Ma'mar b. Rāšid'in Ğāmi'i," *Türkiyat* 12 (1955), 215–34; Petersen, *Alī and Mu'āwiya*, 73, 85–87, 88, 182–83, where he is consistently but mistakenly referred to as Mu'ammār ibn Rāshid; Jones, "Muqaddima," 27–28; Faruqi, *Early Muslim Historiography*, 271–80; al-Ziriklī, *Al-A'lām*, VII, 272a; Muḥammad Raf'at Sa'd, *Ma'mar ibn Rāshid al-Ṣan'ānī: maṣādiruhu wa-manhajuhu wa-āthāruhu fī riwāyat al-ḥadīth* (Riyadh, 1983); Motzki, *Anfänge*, 60–61; van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, II, 708–709; Donner, *Narratives of Islamic Origins*, 223–24, 303; Cook, "Writing of Tradition," 469–70; Schoeler, "Mūsā b. 'Uqbas Maghāzī," 85–86; Görke, "The Historical Tradition about al-Hudaybiya," 247–50.]

³⁶Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, X, [244:9–10].

³⁷*Ibid.*, X, 243:11. [In the published English text this clan of the tribe of Azd is called "Haddān".]

³⁸Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Ta'rikh al-ṣaghīr*, [I, 281:8–9]; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, [VII.2, 2pu–3:2]; al-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-asmā'*, [570:5–6].

He began these wanderings, it seems, after the death (in AH 110) of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī,³⁹ in whose funeral he took part.⁴⁰ Later he wandered as far as to the Yemen,⁴¹ which none of the *muḥaddithūn* had done before him.⁴² In Ṣan'ā', the capital of the Yemen, people tried to detain him permanently, and the effort was successful, for he married there.⁴³ [168] Afterwards, he was from time to time again at al-Baṣra, as for instance when his mother died,⁴⁴ he then, however, returned again to the Yemen, where he died in the year AH 154 (or, as others say, somewhat earlier) at the age of 58.⁴⁵ It was later asserted that he disappeared, but his disciple 'Abd al-Razzāq expressly states that he died in his family circle at Ṣan'ā' and the *qāḍī* of Ṣan'ā' married his widow.⁴⁶

Ma'mar is depicted as a man who was distinguished for admirable moral qualities,⁴⁷ and also as a *muḥaddith* he enjoys a universal good repute; Ibn Jurayj is reported to have said of him: "Hold fast to this man, for no-one of his contemporaries is more learned than he."⁴⁸ The *Fihrist* names him as author of a *Kitāb al-maghāzī*,⁴⁹ of which, however, only fragments have come down to us, especially in al-Wāqidi and Ibn Sa'd,⁵⁰ some also in al-Balādhurī and al-Ṭabarī.⁵¹ Most of his statements go back to al-Zuhrī, and Ma'mar says expressly that he addressed questions to al-Zuhrī.⁵² In the year when he dedicated himself to the *ṭalab al-'ilm*, or "quest of knowledge", he evidently

³⁹Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, X, 243:9.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, X, 243:12; al-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-asmā'*, 569:15; [al-Bukhārī, *Al-Ta'rikh al-ṣaghīr*, II, 115:1–3].

⁴¹Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, X, [245:11–12]; al-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-asmā'*, [570:7]; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif*, 253:19–20 [(ed. 'Ukkāsha), 506:8]; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 397:14.

⁴²Al-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-asmā'*, [570:7].

⁴³Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, X, 245:2–3; al-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-asmā'*, [570:10].

⁴⁴Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 397:13.

⁴⁵Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, X, 245:7–10; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, III, 2522:5–6.

⁴⁶Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 397:21–24; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, X, 245:12–15.

⁴⁷Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 397:15.

⁴⁸Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, X, 245:5–6.

⁴⁹*Fihrist*, 94:11–12. It is there erroneously designated as *Kūfan*.

⁵⁰[On al-Wāqidi's use of Ma'mar, see Faruqi, *Early Muslim Historiography*, 279–80.]

⁵¹[An Oriental Institute papyrus at the University of Chicago was tentatively identified by Abbott as coming from this work. See her *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri*, I, 65–79. This has been disputed on good grounds, however, by M.J. Kister in his "Notes on the Papyrus Text about Muḥammad's Campaign against the Banū al-Naḍīr," *Arch.Or.* 32 (1964), 233–36.]

⁵²E.g. al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 22:13–15.

attended the lectures of al-Zuhrī with diligence; and Ibn Ma'īn names Ma'mar along with Mālik and Yūnus as most trustworthy authority for the traditions of al-Zuhrī.⁵³ Ma'mar too did not restrict himself to the *maghāzī* in the narrower sense of the word; he paid attention also to the biblical history of former revelations—al-Ṭabarī especially has preserved much of this part of his work—and also the history of the Prophet before the *hijra*.⁵⁴ Moreover, in Ibn Sa'd and al-Ṭabarī he furnishes information on particular events of the time of 'Uthmān and Mu'āwiya.⁵⁵ Ma'mar is one of the weightiest sources of al-Wāqidī, and Ibn Sa'd received his traditions through the intermediary of 'Abd al-Razzāq ibn Hammām. This Yemenite disciple of Ma'mar who died in AH 211 also, according to the *Fihrist*,⁵⁶ compiled a *Kitāb al-maghāzī*, which, however, will probably have been only a new edition of [169] his master's work.⁵⁷ The nephew of Wahb ibn Munabbih, 'Abd al-Mun'im ibn Idrīs, was also one of Ma'mar's Yemenite [students].⁵⁸

Muḥammad ibn Ishāq,⁵⁹ the third in a row of al-Zuhrī's disciples who

⁵³ Al-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-asmā'*, [570:7–9].

⁵⁴ Ibn Rustah, *Kitāb al-a'lāq al-naḥḥa*, ed. M.J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1892; *BGA* VII), 63:8–64:2, has preserved reports concerning the history of Yathrib in the pre-Islamic time.

⁵⁵ [This *Kitāb al-maghāzī* is preserved in the recension of 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṣan'ānī (cf. above, 65 n. 166), mentioned by Horowitz a few lines below. As Horowitz here proposes, the work contains material on both pre-Islamic times and the decades following the death of the Prophet. For other reports from Ma'mar, see al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, V (ed. 'Abbās), index, 688; Abū Zur'a, *Ta'rikh*, I, 229:7–10.]

⁵⁶ *Fihrist*, 228:6.

⁵⁷ [On this see Abū Zur'a, *Ta'rikh*, I, 457:4–6. 'Abd al-Razzāq's *Tafsīr*, ed. Muṣṭafā Muslim Muḥammad (Riyadh, 1410/1989), is also a recension of an earlier work by Ma'mar ibn Rāshid.]

⁵⁸ Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII.2, 97:11.

⁵⁹ [SOURCES: Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII.2, 67:11–18; *idem*, *Al-Qism al-mutammim*, 400pu–403:1 no. 330; al-Jumāhī, *Ṭabaqāt al-shu'arā'*, 4:6–16; Yaḥyā ibn Ma'īn, *Ta'rikh*, II, 503pu–505:3; Khalifa ibn Khayyāt, *Ta'rikh*, II, 454pu, 456:5–6; *idem*, *Ṭabaqāt*, 271:9–11, 327:15; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Al-'Ilal wa-ma'rīfat al-rijāl*, IV, 293:20–294:2; al-Bukhārī, *Al-Ta'rikh al-kabīr*, I.1, 40:3–9 no. 61; *idem*, *Al-Ta'rikh al-awsaṭ*, II, 87:1–2 no. 1027; *idem*, *Al-Ta'rikh al-ṣaghīr*, II, 111:6–7; al-'Ijlī, *Ta'rikh al-thiqāt*, 400:4 no. 1433; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif* (ed. 'Ukkāsha), 491:15–492:8; al-Fasawī, *Al-Ma'rifa wa-l-ta'rikh*, I, 137:7–9, 621:13–16; II, 26:4–7, 27:4–28:5, 169:6–7, 200:7–9, 742:4–11; III, 13:8–9, 32:1–5, 366:15–17, 372pu–373:1; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 247:9–10; Abū Zur'a, *Ta'rikh*, I, 260:1–3, 380:2–5, 460pu–461:2, 462:4–10, 537:1–538ult; al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, II, 435:15–16; al-Dūlābī, *Al-Kunā wa-l-asmā'*, I, 122:17–23; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Al-Jarḥ wa-l-ta'dīl*, III.2, 191:8–194:9 no. 1087; al-Azdī, *Ta'rikh al-Mawṣil*, 216:3; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, IV, 159:7–9 no. 2423; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Thiqāt*, VII, 380:7–384:4; *idem*, *Mashāhīr 'ulamā' al-*

composed a *Kitāb al-maghāzī*, outshone the fame of all his predecessors and contemporaries by his work; and his book is the first that has come down to us, not as fragments or extracts but as a whole, though with considerable

amṣār, 139:13–140:2 no. 1105; Ibn 'Adī, *Al-Kāmil fī ḍu'afā' al-rijāl* (Beirut, 1404/1984), VI, 2116:5–2125:17; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 92:21–93:2; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta'rikh Baghdad* (Cairo, 1349/1931), I, 214:4–234:4 no. 51; *idem*, *Al-Sābiq wa-l-lāhiq*, 315:11–316:2 no. 165; Ibn al-Qaysarānī, *Jam'*, II, 468:4–9 no. 1800; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntazam*, VIII, 157:9–159:8 no. 814; Yāqūt, *Irshād al-arīb*, VI, 399:3–401:11; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, IV, 276:1–277ult no. 612; al-Yāfi'ī, *Mir'āt al-janān*, I, 313:10–314:7; Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, *Uyūn al-athar fī funūn al-maghāzī wa-l-shamā'il wa-l-siyar* (Cairo, AH 1356), I, 7:19–17:11; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, XXIV, 405:3–429:3 no. 5057; Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī l-ta'rikh*, V, 594:9–10; al-Dhahabī, *Mizān al-i'tidāl*, III, 468:15–475:14 no. 7197; *idem*, *Al-Mughnī fī l-ḍu'afā'*, 552:11–553:6 no. 5275; *idem*, *Tadhkirat al-huffāz*, I, 172:10–174:2 no. 167; *idem*, *Ta'rikh al-islām*, AH 141–60, 588:3–594:12; *idem*, *Siyar al-'ālam al-nubalā'*, VII, 33:6–55:10 no. 15; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfi bi-l-wafayāt*, I, 7:9–10; II, 188:12–189:15 no. 550; Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya*, X, 109:14–16; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, IX, 38:16–46:17 no. 51; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-zāhira*, II, 16:16–17; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-'lān bi-l-tawbikh* (trans. Rosenthal), 392–94, 403, 508; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, I, 230:10–21.

MODERN STUDIES: Ferdinand Wüstenfeld, "Einleitung" to his edition of Ibn Hishām, II, i–lxxii; *idem*, *Geschichtschreiber*, 8 no. 28; Paul Brönnle, *Die Commentatoren des Ibn Ishāq und ihre Scholien* (Halle, 1895); Sachau, "Einleitung," xxiii–xxv; Wilhelm Sarasin, *Das Bild Alis bei der Historikern der Sunna* (Basel, 1907), 9–21; Fück, *Muḥammad ibn Ishāq*; C. Brockelmann, art. "Ibn Ishāq" in *EI*¹, II (Leiden, 1927), 389b–390b; *GAL*, SI, 205–206; James Robson, "Ibn Ishāq's Use of the *Isnād*," *BJRL* 38 (1955–56), 449–65; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'jam al-mu'allifin*, IX, 44a–b; Alfred Guillaume, "A Note on the *Sīra* of Ibn Ishāq," *BSOAS* 18 (1956), 1–4; J.M.B. Jones, "Ibn Ishāq and al-Wāqidī: the Dream of 'Ātika and the Raid to Nakhla in Relation to the Charge of Plagiarism," *BSOAS* 22 (1959), 41–51; Duri, *Rise of Historical Writing*, 33–37; W. Montgomery Watt, "The Materials Used by Ibn Ishāq," in Lewis and Holt, eds., *Historians of the Middle East*, 23–34; 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Dūrī, *Dirāsa fī sirat al-nabī wa-mu'allifihā Ibn Ishāq* (Baghdad, 1965); Rudolf Sellheim, "Prophet, Chalif, und Geschichte—die Muhammed-Biographie des Ibn Ishāq," *Oriens* 18–19 (1965–66), 33–91; Jones, "Muqaddima," 25–27; *idem*, art. "Ibn Ishāq" in *EI*², III (Leiden, 1971), 810b–811b; Gordon Darnell Newby, "An Example of Coptic Literary Influence on Ibn Ishāq's *Sīra*," *JNES* 31 (1972), 22–28; Sadun Mahmud Al-Samuk, *Die historischen Überlieferungen nach Ibn Ishāq. Eine synoptische Untersuchung* (Frankfurt am Main, 1978); al-Ziriklī, *Al-A'lām*, VI, 28b–c; Toufic Fahd, "Problèmes de typologie dans la 'Sīra' d'Ibn Ishāq," in Fahd, ed., *La vie du prophète Mahomet*, 67–75; Raif Georges Khoury, "Les sources islamiques de la 'Sīra' avant Ibn Hishām (m. 213/834) et leur valeur historique," in Fahd, ed., *La vie du prophète Mahomet*, 7–29; W. Montgomery Watt, "The Reliability of Ibn Ishāq's Sources," in Fahd, ed., *La vie du prophète Mahomet*, 31–43; Jarrar, *Prophetenbiographie*, 32–37, 82–85, 207–208; Khalidī, *Arabic Historical Thought*, 34–39; Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh Abū Su'aylik, *Muḥammad ibn Ishāq: Imām ahl al-maghāzī wa-l-siyar* (Damascus, 1994); Donner, *Narratives of Islamic Origins*, index.]

lacunae. His life and writings have at last been fully dealt with in Johann Fück's monograph, *Muḥammad ibn Ishāq*, published at Frankfurt-am-Main in 1925; and throughout the following exposition I have made use of that distinguished work and, where it seemed to me necessary, supplemented it.

Ibn Ishāq also sprang from a family of *mawālī*. His grandfather Yasār, probably a Christian Arab, was, at the taking of 'Ayn al-Tamr in Iraq in the year AH 12, sent with other prisoners to Medina,⁶⁰ [and]⁶¹ became a slave in the possession of the family of Qays ibn Makhrama ibn al-Muṭṭalib, by whom he was set free after his conversion to Islam. Yasār had three sons, and one of them, Ishāq, married the daughter of a *mawlā* named Ṣabīḥ,⁶² who presented him with a son Muḥammad, the subsequent *ṣāḥib al-maghāzī*. Muḥammad ibn Ishāq seems to have been born about the year AH 85. That is to be deduced, as August Fischer has pointed out, from the fact that all the direct authorities of Ibn Ishāq died after AH 100; and that on the other hand he does not name among his authorities some of the most famous Medinan traditionists who had died in the ninetieth year of the *hijra*.⁶³ A report communicated by al-Wāqidī also agrees with this datum:

Muḥammad ibn Ishāq used to sit in the back part of the mosque in the neighbourhood of the women, and it is reported that he conversed with them in the night. This was brought to the knowledge of Ismā'il ibn Hishām,⁶⁴ the governor of Medina, whereupon he had Muḥammad ibn Ishāq's hair shaved—he had a luxuriant growth of hair and a [170] handsome face—had him scourged and forbade him to sit any more in his former seat.⁶⁵

The governorship of Ismā'il lasted from AH 106 to 114, and Ibn Ishāq was therefore from 20 to 30 years old at the time. His father, before him, was a

⁶⁰ Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, I, 2122:2–12; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 247:9–10; Fück, *Muḥammad ibn Ishāq*, 27 n. 2.

⁶¹ [Missing from the published English text.]

⁶² Al-Qaṣṭallānī, *Irshād al-sārī fī sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* (Cairo, AH 1327), IV, 328:23–29.

⁶³ [Horovitz here refers to conclusions by Fischer as cited in Fück, *Muḥammad ibn Ishāq*, 28 n. 11. The argument seems not to appear anywhere in Fischer's published scholarship.]

⁶⁴ In Yāqūt's text Hishām is named, to be sure, but since he was governor of Medina from AH 82 to 86 he can hardly be in question, and it will certainly be his son Ismā'il who is meant. In the *Fihrist* the name of the governor is not mentioned.

⁶⁵ Yāqūt, *Irshād al-arīb*, VI, 400:13–16; *Fihrist*, 92:23–24.

zealous collector of traditions, who is often named as authority in his son's works. Muḥammad ibn Ishāq must therefore from his youth up have been obliged to occupy himself with the transmission of *ḥadīth*, and afterwards have enlarged his knowledge by frequenting the most esteemed experts, such as 'Āṣim ibn 'Umar, 'Abd Allāh ibn Abī Bakr and al-Zuhrī, all three of whom he uses as fountain-heads in his book. But he endeavoured also to procure accounts from everywhere else, and names some 100 authorities from Medina only.

In the year AH 115 Ibn Ishāq repaired to Alexandria,⁶⁶ where he heard in particular the lectures of Yazīd ibn Abī Ḥabīb (d. AH 128), who was first to naturalise the study of *ḥadīth* in Egypt.⁶⁷ From Egypt Ibn Ishāq betook himself not, as is generally supposed, to Iraq, but as Fück has made probable, first to his native city, Medina; perhaps it was when on a visit⁶⁸ that his teacher al-Zuhrī pointed out Ibn Ishāq to his audience in AH 123;⁶⁹ and again in the year AH 132 Sufyān ibn 'Uyayna met Ibn Ishāq in Medina.⁷⁰

Residence in his native city was finally made disagreeable for him, a state of things to which the enmity of two men contributed, that of Hishām ibn 'Urwa and that of Mālik ibn Anas. Ibn Ishāq had come to know the traditions of Hishām's father, 'Urwa, of whom we spoke fully in a former article,⁷¹ through al-Zuhrī and also through 'Urwa's client Yazīd ibn Rūmān, and he exploited them to great advantage. Hishām himself, too, to whom, along with al-Zuhrī and Yazīd, we are indebted for a large portion of the material garnered by his father, appears occasionally in Ibn Ishāq's work as his authority, but it would seem that on a particular point he marked down Ibn Ishāq as unworthy of credence. Ibn Qutayba states in this connection: "Ibn Ishāq was accustomed to receive traditions from Fāṭima bint al-Mundhir, the [171] wife of Hishām. Hishām heard that, and declared it false by his saying: 'Has he been paying visits to my wife?'"⁷² Very similarly in the *Fihrist* the account runs: "Muḥammad ibn Ishāq received traditions from Fāṭima, the wife of Hishām. Hishām heard this and declared it false by his saying: 'When,

⁶⁶ Ibn Hishām, II, vii.

⁶⁷ Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, II, 73 [= *Muslim Studies*, II, 77]; Fück, *Muḥammad ibn Ishāq*, 30 n. 27.

⁶⁸ Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Ta'rikh al-saghīr*, [II, 283:11–13].

⁶⁹ Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, I, 612:6–8 [(ed. 'Abbās), IV, 276:13–14].

⁷⁰ Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Ta'rikh al-saghīr*, [II, 31:3–6].

⁷¹ Above, 15–29.

⁷² Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif*, 247:16–17 [(ed. 'Ukkāsha), 492:5].

then, has he been at my house?"⁷³ Somewhat toned down is the answer of Hishām as reported by Yāqūt: "‘He says he has been with my wife?,’ said he, as if he would deny it."⁷⁴ In itself it was nothing unheard of that a collector of traditions should receive them from women. We have already seen that ‘Abd Allāh ibn Abī Bakr, who likewise belonged to the Medinan aristocracy, had no objection whatsoever to his wife ‘Amra narrating accounts to his pupil, and that pupil was no other than Ibn Ishāq. Probably Hishām also had no objection whatever to his wife, who was besides considerably older than her husband and some 35 or 40 years older than Ibn Ishāq,⁷⁵ communicating accounts to him; he was, however, quite unaware of any visit of Ibn Ishāq to his house at which the latter had received traditions from Fāṭima, and he therefore doubted the accuracy of Ibn Ishāq’s statement.

The hostility of Mālik ibn Anas, the renowned author of the *Muwattaʿa*, was on other grounds. It is several times reported that Ibn Ishāq professed the doctrine of the *qadar*,⁷⁶ and Abū Zur‘a states that Duḥaym, who died in AH 245, declared to him that Mālik’s hostility to Ibn Ishāq was caused by his Qadarite views.⁷⁷ Ibn Ishāq is said to have expressed aversion for Mālik’s learning, and a [student] of Ibn Ishāq, ‘Abd Allāh ibn Idrīs, informs us of Ibn Ishāq’s expressions as well as Mālik’s answer:

I was with Mālik ibn Anas when a man related to him: "Muḥammad ibn Ishāq said: ‘Lay the knowledge of Mālik before me; I will handle it as a surgeon.’" Thereupon Mālik said: "Look at this *dajjāl* (antichrist) who belongs to the *dajjājila*." Before that I⁷⁸ had never heard any man use the plural *dajjājila*.⁷⁹

⁷³*Fihrist*, 92:24–26.

⁷⁴Yāqūt, *Irshād al-arīb*, VI, 399:13–14.

⁷⁵According to Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, XII, 444:17–19, she was born in AH 48.

⁷⁶Ibn Qutayba, *Ma‘ārif*, 301ult [(ed. ‘Ukkāsha), 625:14–15].

⁷⁷Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, IX, 42ult–43:1; Fück, *Muḥammad ibn Ishāq*, 20 n. 40. [On Ibn Ishāq as a Qadarite, see van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, II, 666, 675–77.]

⁷⁸I.e. the reporter, whom the answer of Mālik interests first and foremost as a specimen of language.

⁷⁹Yāqūt, *Irshād al-arīb*, [VI], 400:16–401:1. [Cf. also al-Fasawī, *Al-Ma‘rifa wa-l-ta’rikh*, III, 32:1–5. What the last sentence in the Arabic in Yāqūt actually states is: "I had never before seen anyone use a plural form of *dajjāl*." The insult is in fact quite extreme. There were traditions in circulation stating that no *dajjāl* would ever enter Medina (see Wensinck, *Concordance*, II, 111a; IV, 3b), and if Ibn Ishāq is a *dajjāl* then of course he should be expelled from Medina.]

In contrast to his master al-Zuhri, Ibn Ishāq maintained [172] apparently no sort of relations with the court of Damascus. Perhaps the ruin of that dynasty in the year AH 132, and the rise of the ‘Abbāsids to power, was an additional reason for him to forsake his native city. Anyhow, we hear that he betook himself from Medina to al-Kūfa, al-Jazīra, Rayy and Baghdad, where he is said to have remained till his death.⁸⁰ Another account gives closer details of his sojourn in those regions:

Muḥammad ibn Ishāq stayed with al-‘Abbās ibn Muḥammad in al-Jazīra;⁸¹ then he repaired to Abū l-Ja‘far al-Manṣūr⁸² to al-Ḥīra and wrote the *maghāzī* for him. The folk of al-Kūfa therefore heard his expositions just as the folk of al-Jazīra had heard them⁸³ when he stayed with their governor. Then he repaired to Rayy.⁸⁴ There the people of Rayy heard his lectures, and those who transmit accounts from him are more numerous in these lands than they were in Medina. Then he went to Baghdad and remained there till he died.⁸⁵

Ibn Ishāq died in Baghdad in AH 150 or 151⁸⁶ and was laid to rest in the Khayzurān cemetery.⁸⁷

That Ibn Ishāq wrote his *Kitāb al-maghāzī* for the caliph, as this account says, cannot anyhow mean that he composed it on a commission from the caliph. The list of authorities cited by him, of itself, shows that he had composed his material principally on the basis of the traditions collected by him in Medina, as well as on the basis of those that he had collected in Egypt; on the other hand, he nowhere names the authorities of Iraq. The work was obviously completed when Ibn Ishāq finally left the city of his fathers, and we know also a Medinan who passes on the work of Ibn Ishāq: Ibrāhīm ibn Sa’d (d. AH 184). It may still, none the less, be supposed that Ibn Ishāq undertook some supplementary alterations in his work for love of the caliph,

⁸⁰Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII.2, 67:17–18.

⁸¹Where al-‘Abbās was governor in AH 142.

⁸²Who reigned from AH 136 to 158, but moved to Baghdad first in AH 146.

⁸³[In the Arabic text read: *wa-sami‘a minhu ahlu l-Jazīra*.]

⁸⁴Where the crown prince Mahdī had been living since before AH 151.

⁸⁵Yāqūt, *Irshād al-arīb*, [VI], 399:15–19; cf. Ibn Qutayba, *Ma‘ārif*, 247:15–16 [(ed. ‘Ukkāsha), 492:2–3].

⁸⁶Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII.2, 67:18, and the remaining biographical articles.

⁸⁷Yāqūt, *Irshād al-arīb*, VI, 399:9.

or that he suppressed passages that he feared might be displeasing to the caliph.

We can, however, on the other hand, affirm that Ibn Ishāq in his work treats of an event that it cannot have been very pleasant for the 'Abbāsid caliph to have remembered: the part taken by the ancestor of his race, al-'Abbās, in the battle [173] at Badr on the side of the Meccan opponents of the Prophet. That part Ibn Ishāq expressly affirms and names al-'Abbās among the prisoners of Badr.⁸⁸ It is true that the part played by al-'Abbās is mitigated by the fact that, according to an account accepted by Ibn Ishāq and going back to Ibn al-'Abbās, he fought against the Prophet much against his will⁸⁹ and, according to another report traced back to a *mawla* of al-'Abbās, he as well as his wife had long adhered to Islam, if he had not yet openly professed Islam.⁹⁰ That Ibn Ishāq introduced these alleviating statements first under the influence of the 'Abbāsid court is not probable; for the Medinan student of Ibn Ishāq's already named, Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd, has borrowed the statement that al-'Abbās after his imprisonment acknowledged his nephew as Prophet.⁹¹ But even if these statements of Ibn Ishāq were first introduced at the time when he had left his native city, still he did not go [to]⁹² the length of consenting to suppress the part taken by al-'Abbās at Badr, as Ibn Hishām and al-Wāqidī did later.

The work of Ibn Ishāq bears the title *Kitāb al-maghāzī*⁹³ and was originally divided into the three sections of *Mubtada'*, *Mab'ath*, and *Maghāzī*,⁹⁴ that is to say it treated of the pre-Islamic history of Revelation, the youth of the Prophet and his activity in Mecca, and lastly the Medinan period. In its original form the work is no longer completely preserved to us. A manuscript to be found in Constantinople in the Köprülü Library, of which one might

⁸⁸Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, IV.1, 7:5-11; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, I, 1341:1-7, 1344:9-1345:6.

⁸⁹Ibn Hishām, I.1, 446:9-10; Ibn Sa'd, [IV.1], 5:10-18; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, I, 1323:4-11.

⁹⁰Ibn Hishām, I.1, 460:12-17; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, I, 1338pu-1339:9.

⁹¹Ibn Sa'd, IV.1, 7:23-8:9.

⁹²[Missing from the published English text.]

⁹³Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, VI, 276:10-11; VII.2, 81:1-2; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif*, 247:14 [(ed. 'Ukkāsha), 492:2]; further passages in Fück, *Muḥammad ibn Ishāq*, 34 n. 1. [While some of these passages may well attest to a specific title *Kitāb al-maghāzī* intended by Ibn Ishāq, phrases such as *rawā l-maghāzī* could just as well mean nothing more specific than "he transmitted *maghāzī* traditions", i.e. in general, and not from any one book, much less one entitled *Kitāb al-maghāzī*.]

⁹⁴Fück, *Muḥammad ibn Ishāq*, 34 nn. 5-6, quotes the passages where these indications are found.

suppose from the printed catalogue that it contained the book in its original form, revealed itself to me on a closer inspection as the rescript of Ibn Hishām.⁹⁵ This rescript, however, which in Wüstenfeld's edition (Göttingen 1859), as also in the Būlāq impression, has become generally accessible, enables us, in conjunction with the numerous fragments preserved in al-Ṭabarī and other historians, to make a clear picture of the design of the work in its original shape. Ibn Hishām (d. AH 218), who received Ibn Ishāq's work from the latter's immediate student al-Bakkā'ī (d. AH 183), himself states in his preface what alterations he has [174] taken it upon himself to make in Ibn Ishāq's work.⁹⁶ Thus he has left out the biblical history from Adam to Abraham, and also named of the progeny of Ismā'il only those who were direct ancestors of the Prophet. Further on, he has left out some tales recorded by Ibn Ishāq in which the Prophet is not mentioned, to which there are no allusions in the Qur'ān, and which contain neither the occasion nor the explanation nor the confirmation of any other matter reported in Ibn Ishāq's book. All these omissions he has undertaken in order to reduce the volume of the work. Others, however, for other reasons: he has discarded such poems as were known to no connoisseur of poetry questioned by him; besides allegations whereof the mention was malicious, or likely to be disagreeable to certain people; and lastly, such reports as are, indeed, ascribed to Ibn Ishāq, but were unknown to al-Bakkā'ī. Ibn Hishām also made sundry emendations and additions of manifold genealogical and lexical import, which, however, he always indicates as inserted by him; alterations of the text, however, he did not undertake; and his rescript contains [no indications]⁹⁷ as to where, each time, he has left something out. We are in a position, however, with the help of fragments of the work of Ibn Ishāq preserved for us in other books, to restore a great part of the omissions made by Ibn Hishām and thus fill in the lacunae in his rescript. Al-Ṭabarī in particular has preserved in great part the section concerning the biblical Prophets; in his *Tafsīr* as well as in his *Chronicle* he gives voluminous quotations from those sections of Ibn Ishāq's work belonging to the *Mubtada'*, while al-Azraqī has preserved for us voluminous reports dealing with the previous history of Mecca, which are

⁹⁵[Cf. Josef Horowitz, "Aus den Bibliotheken von Kairo, Damaskus und Konstantinopel (Arabische Handschriften geschichtlichen Inhalts)," *MSOS* 10 (1907), 14 no. 7.]

⁹⁶Ibn Hishām, I.1, 4:2-11.

⁹⁷[In the published English text: "no indications only".]

likewise lacking in Ibn Hishām.⁹⁸ It is to be concluded from Ibn Hishām's preface that, as against these very substantial omissions from the *Mubtada'*, the "cuts" made by him in the *Maghāzī* proper were but slight; but here too it is above all al-Ṭabarī who offers us the possibility of filling in the gaps—e.g. he has preserved the report concerning the capture of al-'Abbās at Badr,⁹⁹ which, as already observed, Ibn Hishām, for fear of "some people"—i.e. in this case, of being unpleasant to the ruling dynasty—has left out.

If we pay attention to these data preserved for us in quotations not to be found in Ibn Hishām's text, we arrive at the following picture of the plan of Ibn Ishāq's work:

[175] (a) The pre-Islamic history (*al-Mubtada'*),¹⁰⁰ which in its turn is divided into four questions, the first of which treats of pre-Islamic Revelation from the creation of the world till Jesus. It is this section that in Ibn Hishām has suffered most from the shears of abridgment. As Ibn Ishāq is everywhere concerned with chronological computations, he has prepared such calculations for this section also. As sources, besides the Qur'ān, the traditions of Wahb ibn Munabbih, those of Ibn al-'Abbās, statements of Jewish and Christian men of letters, and also the biblical text itself, come under notice. Besides the biblical figures, the Arabian peoples 'Ād and Thamūd appear, to whom likewise, according to the Qur'ānic exposition, Allāh had sent his Messengers; but also Ṭasm and Jadīs, not named in the Qur'ān, are mentioned. The second part of the *Mubtada'*, of which the substance is preserved in Ibn Hishām, and which can further be completed out of al-Ṭabarī,¹⁰¹ deals with the history of the Yemen in pre-Islamic times. Pre-occupation with the history of Yemen had been brought on by study of the Qur'ān; Sūrat al-Burūj (85), which treats of the *aṣḥāb al-ukhdūd*, gave occasion for research into the spread of Jewry and of Christendom in south Arabia, for the traditional explanation sees in these verses an allusion to the downfall of the Jewish

⁹⁸[Both of these sources, as well as others, have been used in Newby's attempt to reconstruct the *Mubtada'*. See below, n. 100.]

⁹⁹Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, I, 1341:1–7. For the quotations from the original work of Ibn Ishāq in other writers, see Fück, *Muḥammad ibn Ishāq*, [36–37] nn. 22–32.

¹⁰⁰[For an attempt to reconstruct this work from the extant references to it in Ibn Hishām and other sources, see Gordon Darnell Newby, *The Making of the Last Prophet: a Reconstruction of the Earliest Biography of Muḥammad* (Columbia, SC, 1989). Cf. the reviews of this work by Māhir Jarrār, *Al-Qanṭara* 23 (1992), 287–90; and Lawrence I. Conrad, "Recovering Lost Texts: Some Methodological Issues," *JAOS* 113 (1993), 258–63.]

¹⁰¹Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, I, 801–58. [The section I, 795:17–966:14 rather seems to mark the limits of this material.]

king Dhū Nuwās; while in the *aṣḥāb al-fīl* (Sūrat al-Fīl, 105) they wished to recognise the host of the Abyssinian governor of the Yemen, Abraha, which was prevented by a divine judgment from prosecuting the attack on Mecca and its sanctuary. The third part of the *Mubtada'* treats of the Arabian tribes and their idol worship;¹⁰² the fourth, of the immediate ancestors of the Prophet and the Meccan cult.¹⁰³ On the whole, *asānīd* are rare in the *Mubtada'*, and are found most often in the first part.¹⁰⁴

(b) *al-Mab'ath*, which comprises the Prophet's life in Mecca, the *hijra* and perhaps also the first year of his activity in Medina. In this section the number of the *asānīd* increases and Ibn Ishāq leans chiefly on the traditions of his Medinan teachers, which he sets forth in chronological order, and in the case of which he often prefaces to the individual reports a short comprehensive statement of contents. In this section, besides the narratives produced with or without *isnād*, [176] occurs also a document, recorded by Ibn Ishāq only and not by any of the later compilers of *maghāzī* writings—the famous treaty of the Prophet with the Medinan tribes, the so-called "Community Regulation" of Medina.¹⁰⁵ Further, a whole series of lists:¹⁰⁶ the list of the first believers; that of the Muslims who emigrated to Abyssinia; of the first Muslims among the Anṣār; of the participators in the first and second pacts of

¹⁰²Ibn Hishām, I.1, 49:9–70ult.

¹⁰³*Ibid.*, I.1, 71:1–101ult.

¹⁰⁴[On Ibn Ishāq's use of the *isnād*, see Robson, "Ibn Ishāq's Use of the *Isnād*," 449–65; Watt, "The Materials Used by Ibn Ishāq," 23–34; *idem*, "The Reliability of Ibn Ishāq's Sources," 31–43; Schoeler, *Charakter und Authentie*, 124–31, 137–44.]

¹⁰⁵Ibn Hishām, I.1, 341:3–344:4. Only Ibn Sayyid al-Nās gives it again, following Ibn Ishāq, in his *Uyūn al-athar*. See A.J. Wensinck, *Mohammed en de joden te Medina* (Leiden, 1908), 82 [trans. Wolfgang Behn, *Muḥammad and the Jews of Medina* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1975), 61. The phrase "Community Regulation" is Pickthall's overly literal rendering of "Gemeindeordnung", or what is normally known in English as the "Constitution of Medina" (or '*ahd al-umma*'). See Julius Wellhausen, "Muhammeds Gemeindeordnung von Medina," in his *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, IV, 65–83 (English trans. in Behn's trans. of Wensinck); Caetani, *Annali dell'Islam*, I, 391–408 §§43–49 (AH 1); W. Montgomery Watt, *Muḥammad at Medina* (Oxford, 1956), 221–60; R.B. Serjeant, "The 'Constitution of Medina'," *IQ* 8 (1964), 3–16; *idem*, "The *Sunnah Jāmi'ah*, Pacts with the Yathrib Jews, and the *Tahrīm* of Yathrib: Analysis and Translation of the Documents Comprised in the So-Called 'Constitution of Medina'," *BSOAS* 41 (1978), 1–42; Moshe Gil, "The Constitution of Medina: a Reconsideration," *IOS* 4 (1974), 44–66; Uri Rubin, "The 'Constitution of Medina.' Some Notes," *SI* 62 (1985), 5–23; R. Stephen Humphreys, *Islamic History: a Framework for Inquiry*, revised ed. (Princeton, 1991), 92–98.]

¹⁰⁶[Cf. Sellheim, "Prophet, Chalif und Geschichte," 73–75.]

‘Aqaba; of the Muhājirūn and of those Anṣār who received them in Medina; of the Muhājirūn and Anṣār who were made brothers by the Prophet.¹⁰⁷

(c) *al-Maghāzī*, i.e. the history of the Prophet in Medina from the first shock of war with the heathen tribes on till the death of the Prophet. The *maghāzī* proper preponderate throughout, and besides them only the last illness and the death of the Prophet are treated in detail. Here the *isnād* is the rule, and the authorities of Ibn Ishāq are his Medinan teachers, above all al-Zuhrī, ‘Āṣim ibn ‘Umar and ‘Abd Allāh ibn Abī Bakr, to whom also he is already indebted for the chronological scaffolding.¹⁰⁸ Ibn Ishāq has, however, considerably increased the material collected from them and others by the accounts added by him from other sponsors, in particular by statements that he had received from relatives of the families of the men and women who took part in the events.¹⁰⁹ For the presentation of the actual *maghāzī*, Ibn Ishāq employs a fixed scheme; he sends a brief comprehensive statement of contents on in front, follows it up with a collective account composed of the statements of his weightiest teachers and completes this principal account by individual reports gathered by him from other sources. In the *Maghāzī* also lists are frequent; thus Ibn Ishāq has recorded a list of those who fought at Badr as also of the killed and captured; of those who fell at Uhud, in the War of the Trench (*yawm al-khandaq*), at Khaybar, Mu’ta and al-Ṭā’if, as well as of the emigrants who returned from Abyssinia.¹¹⁰

Fück has compiled a list of fifteen students of Ibn Ishāq,¹¹¹ of whom it can be proved that they handed on their [177] master’s *Kitāb al-maghāzī*.¹¹² Only one of them, the already mentioned Ibrāhīm ibn Sa’d, was his [student] in Medina, all the others learn to know his work upon the life of the Prophet at al-Kūfa, Rayy and Baghdad. Best known to us among the texts

¹⁰⁷Ibn Hishām, I.1, 162:1–165ult, 208:7–215:10, 287:4–19, 288:2–289:7, 305:5–313:7, [321:5–323:5], 344:6–16.

¹⁰⁸[Cf. Donner, *Narratives of Islamic Origins*, 232–33.]

¹⁰⁹Fück, *Muḥammad ibn Ishāq*, [42–43] nn. 74–82, makes full statements concerning the *isnād* in this section.

¹¹⁰Ibn Hishām, I.1, 485:9–515ult; I.2, 607:1–611:13, 697:17–698:18, 768:16–769:13, 781:9–788:12, 801:18–802:8, 875:11–876:3.

¹¹¹Fück, *Muḥammad ibn Ishāq*, 44.

¹¹²[An important and much fuller discussion of the role of 61 of Ibn Ishāq’s students in transmitting versions of his work is now available in Muṭā‘ al-Ṭarābīshī, *Ruwāt Muḥammad ibn Ishāq ibn Yasar fī l-maghāzī wa-l-siyar wa-sā’ir al-marwiyāt* (Beirut and Damascus, 1414/1994), for a summary version of which see also his “Ruwāt al-maghāzī wa-l-siyar ‘an Muḥammad ibn Ishāq,” *MMIA* 56 (1981), 533–609.]

handed down by his [students] is that of al-Bakkā’ī, on which Ibn Hishām relies; on the other hand, most of the fragments preserved in al-Ṭabarī go back to Salāma ibn al-Faḍl (d. AH 191). As I gather from a communication very kindly made to me by Mr. F. Krenkow, the *Mustadrak* of al-Ḥākim al-Nisābūrī, now printed in Hyderabad, contains in the chapter on the *maghāzī* numerous extracts from the work of Ibn Ishāq,¹¹³ which he, like Ibn al-Athīr (in his *Usd al-ghāba*) and Ibn Ḥajar (in his *Iṣāba*), borrowed mostly from the version of Yūnus ibn Bukayr (d. AH 199).¹¹⁴ The latest extracts from the *Maghāzī* of Ibn Ishāq preserved seem to be those to be found in Ibn Ḥajar;¹¹⁵ but long before that the wide publicity of Ibn Hishām’s rescript had diminished the need of the original work. Al-Ya’qūbī (d. ca. AH 300) already uses Ibn Hishām’s rescript.¹¹⁶

The weightiest teacher of Ibn Ishāq is al-Zuhrī, and the personal relation in which Ibn Ishāq stood to him is often expressed in the form of the *isnād*; as when Ibn Ishāq says: “I spoke to Muḥammad ibn Muslim al-Zuhrī”; “I asked al-Zuhrī”; or, when al-Zuhrī speaks to him: “I have collected for thee what which people have related to me.”¹¹⁷ Ibn Ishāq also sent to al-Zuhrī a document communicated to him by Yazīd ibn Abī l-Ḥabīb in Egypt concerning the embassies sent by the Prophet to various princes, in order to have the authenticity of the statements therein contained confirmed by him.¹¹⁸ Besides al-Zuhrī, ‘Āṣim and ‘Abd Allāh ibn Abī Bakr, the adherents of the house of al-Zubayr deserve prominent mention among the authorities of Ibn Ishāq; not only to Yazīd ibn Rūmān,¹¹⁹ the *mawla* of ‘Urwa ibn al-Zubayr, who imparted to Ibn Ishāq the traditions of ‘Urwa, but also to other *mawālī*

¹¹³[Cf. al-Ḥākim al-Nisābūrī, *Al-Mustadrak ‘alā al-ṣaḥīḥayn*, ed. Muṣṭafā ‘Abd al-Qādir ‘Atā (Beirut, 1411–15/1990–95), III, 21:1–63ult.]

¹¹⁴[Two versions of this recension have since been published. See Ibn Ishāq, *Sira*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥamīd Allāh (Rabat, 1976); *idem*, *Kitāb al-siyar wa-l-maghāzī*, ed. Suhayl Zakkār (Damascus, 1398/1978; also Miklos Muranyi, “Ibn Ishāq’s *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* in der *Riwaya* von Yūnus b. Bukair. Bemerkungen zur frühen Überlieferungsgeschichte,” *JSAI* 14 (1991), 214–75.]

¹¹⁵Fück, *Muḥammad ibn Ishāq*, 34 n. 8.

¹¹⁶*Ibid.*, 32.

¹¹⁷Ibn Hishām, I.1, 5:9–10, 259:16–17; I.2, 731:6, 755:5–7, 779:2–4; Fück, *Muḥammad ibn Ishāq*, 10 n. 38.

¹¹⁸Ibn Hishām, I.2, 972:1–4; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, I, 1560:6–10.

¹¹⁹Al-Dhahabī/Fischer, *Biographien*, 84:13–85:6; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, XI, 325:5.

of the al-Zubayr family,¹²⁰ as well as of relations of that family, [178] Ibn Ishāq is indebted for numerous reports; to Hishām and Yaḥyā, the sons of 'Urwa;¹²¹ to 'Umar ibn 'Abd Allāh, the nephew of 'Urwa,¹²² to Muḥammad ibn Ja'far, the nephew of 'Urwa,¹²³ and lastly to Yaḥyā ibn 'Abbād ibn 'Abd Allāh, the great nephew of 'Urwa.¹²⁴

Besides the Islamic connoisseurs of *ḥadīth*, *tafsīr*—in this field the *mawlā* Muḥammad ibn Abī Muḥammad was his foremost teacher¹²⁵—and *maghāzī*, Ibn Ishāq turned also to non-Islamic learned men when he wanted information concerning Jewish, Christian and Parsi traditions. Thus he names among his authorities *ba'd ahl al-'ilm min ahl al-kitāb al-awwal*, "some learned men of the people of the former Scripture," or *ahl al-Tawrāt*, "people of the Book of Moses," and *man yasūqu l-aḥādīth 'an al-a'ājim*, "those who deal in traditions of the Persians".¹²⁶ In introducing such statements he seems to have stood alone among the learned of Medina and later it was made a reproach to him; whereas in south Arabia Wahb ibn Munabbih had already, before Ibn Ishāq, received such non-Islamic information without any scruple; moreover Ibn Ishāq several times names Wahb as his authority for biblical stories, and al-Mughīra ibn Abī Zabīd is the vehicle by which the statements of Wahb reached him.¹²⁷ Apart from Wahb, Ibn Ishāq appears to be the oldest Arabic author who gives passages from the Old and New Testaments in literal translation. Thus he introduces the passage from Genesis 50:22 with the words "and in the Torah it is said,"¹²⁸ the passage from Genesis 4:9–16 with the words: "and people of the Torah say,"¹²⁹ and the passage from John 15:23–16:1 with the express statement that it is from John the Evangelist (*mimmā athbata Yuhannis al-Hawārī*).¹³⁰ If Ibn Ishāq at the

¹²⁰Wahb ibn Kaysān in Ibn Hishām, I.1, 151:16; Ismā'īl ibn Abī Ḥakīm in *ibid.*, I.1, 154:7.

¹²¹*Ibid.*, I.1, 202:11, 205:11–12, 277:11–12, 413:17.

¹²²*Ibid.*, I.1, 277:3–4, 413:17.

¹²³*Ibid.*, I.1, 348:4–5, 471pu; I.2, 791:6–7, 797pu, 809:8, 820:18, 825pu, 981:14.

¹²⁴*Ibid.*, I.1, 447ult, 461:14–15, 465:16–17, 480:7–8; I.2, 570:2, 680:2, 794:13, 815:14–15.

¹²⁵Fück, *Muḥammad ibn Ishāq*, 29 n. 22.

¹²⁶Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, I, 121:1, 140:12–13, 189:18, 212:11–12, 413:13, 737:6–7; Ibn Hishām, I.1, 197:8–9. Cf. also Goldziher, *Richtungen*, 90.

¹²⁷Fück, *Muḥammad ibn Ishāq*, 29.

¹²⁸Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, I, 413:18–19.

¹²⁹*Ibid.*, I, 141:16.

¹³⁰Ibn Hishām, I.1, 149:15–150:5. [Cf. Anton Baumstark, "Eine altarabisches Evangelienübersetzung aus dem Christlich-Palästinensischen," *ZS* 8 (1932), 201–209; Alfred Guil-

same time substitutes *al-manahḥamannā* for the Greek "Paraclete", that shows that the passage was communicated to him according to the so-called Palestinian-Christian translation.¹³¹ [179] Also some genealogical lists show close agreement with the biblical text; thus the list of the sons of Ismā'īl agrees word for word with Genesis 25:13–16.¹³² The lists, letters and other documents imparted by him are given mostly without *isnād*, after copies he had taken.¹³³ But his master 'Abd Allāh ibn Abī Bakr, in whose family, as we have seen, a copy of a writing of the Prophet given to his great grandfather had been preserved, had already collected a series of such bits of writing,¹³⁴ and these his [student] Ibn Ishāq communicates only on the authority of his master.¹³⁵ Another piece of writing is similarly given on the authority of his Egyptian master, [Yazīd] ibn Abī Ḥabīb.¹³⁶

Already the precursors of Ibn Ishāq had, besides the prose accounts and documents of their collections, incorporated poetical testimonies too; none, however, so far as we can judge, did it to so great an extent as Ibn Ishāq.¹³⁷ The author of the *Fihrist* relates:

It is said that poems were made for Ibn Ishāq, brought to him and [he was then asked]¹³⁸ to put them in his book. That he

laume, "The Version of the Gospels used in Medina ca. A.D. 700," *Al-Andalus* 15 (1950), 289–96; Joseph Schacht, "Une citation de l'Evangile de St. Jean dans la *Sīra* d'Ibn Ishāq," *Al-Andalus* 16 (1951), 489–90; Sidney H. Griffith, "The Gospel in Arabic: an Inquiry into its Appearance in the First Abbasid Century," *OC* 69 (1985), 137–43.]

¹³¹Nöldeke/Schwally, I, 9.

¹³²Ibn Hishām, I.1, 4:13–16.

¹³³This Ibn Ishāq says of an epistle of the Prophet to a tribe: *wa-kataba lahum kitāban wa-huwa 'indahum*, ["he wrote to them a letter that they still have in their possession". On such documents, see Michael Lecker, "On the Preservation of the Letters of the Prophet Muḥammad," in Conrad, ed., *History and Historiography*.]

¹³⁴[Cf. now the discussion of such points in Lecker, "On the Preservation of the Letters of the Prophet Muḥammad".]

¹³⁵Ibn Hishām, I.2, 955:16–957:9, 959:15–960:1, 961:3–962:14, 965:15–20; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, I, 1717, 1724, 1727, 1748.

¹³⁶Ibn Hishām, I.2, 962:15–963:1 [without attribution]; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, I, 1740:10–18. [The published English text erroneously has the name of this well-known figure as "Ismā'īl ibn Abī Ḥabīb".]

¹³⁷[On this topic cf. further Horowitz' "Die poetischen Einlagen der *Sīra*," 308–12 (trans. in *SEI*, Chap. 8), and the more recent literature cited above, 11 n. 31.]

¹³⁸[In the published English text: "he then offered"; in the Arabic (*Fihrist*, 72:26): *yus'alu*.]

also did, and introduced poems into his book by reason of which poetry got a bad name among the traditionists.¹³⁹

The same reproach had been made to him already by Muḥammad ibn Sallām al-Jumāḥī (d. AH 231), who adds that Ibn Ishāq pleaded in self-excuse that he was no connoisseur of poetry and accepted whatever poems were brought to him. That was no excuse, however, for having put poems in the mouths of men who generally had never composed a verse, of women even more than men; and he even went so far as to give poems of 'Ād and Thamūd without asking himself who had held them in remembrance during the thousands of years that had elapsed since the downfall of those peoples.¹⁴⁰ In fact al-Ṭabarī has preserved for us some poems from the time of 'Ād and Thamūd that were taken by Ibn Ishāq in his work;¹⁴¹ and Ibn Hishām also declares, of a whole crowd of the poems quoted by Ibn [180] Ishāq in his work, that they are not known to any connoisseur of poetry.¹⁴² Only very seldom does Ibn Ishāq state to whom he is indebted for acquaintance with a poem. He had received some of the poems concerning events of the Medinan period from his master 'Abd Allāh ibn Abī Bakr, as he informs us;¹⁴³ and concerning one of the elegies of the daughter of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib on her father's death, which Ibn Ishāq gives in full, Ibn Hishām makes the comment: "I have seen no connoisseur of poetry to whom this poem was familiar; it must be then that he transmitted it on the authority of Muḥammad ibn Sa'īd ibn al-Musayyab."¹⁴⁴ We shall not be far wrong if we take it that this son of the famous *faqīh* of Medina was not only the transmitter but also the author of this poem; if his father himself did not compose it, of whom we have seen that he stood in a peculiarly close relation to the poet's art.

Now how is the inclusion of such poems to be judged, and does Ibn Ishāq deserve the criticism of al-Jumāḥī? There is no reason to doubt the authenticity of many of the poems cited by Ibn Sa'd, especially such as relate to the events of Medina, and many also in the time of Ibn Hishām were acknowledged as authentic by the connoisseurs of poetry. Ibn Ishāq himself will not have held many of the remainder to be at all authentic, but he made

¹³⁹ *Fihrist*, 92:24-27; Yāqūt, *Irshād al-arīb*, [VI, 401:4-6].

¹⁴⁰ Al-Jumāḥī, *Ṭabaqāt al-shu'arā'*, 4:6-16.

¹⁴¹ Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, I, 236:12-237:2, 237:11-14, 241:7-16, 242:9-10.

¹⁴² [Ibn Hishām, I.1, 4:9.]

¹⁴³ E.g. *ibid.*, I.2, 789:15, 793:12-13, 818:2.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, I.1, 108:10-12. From *ibid.*, I.1, 111:10-11, it results that the remaining elegies also went back to Muḥammad ibn Sa'īd.

no special inquiries as to their authenticity as the professional connoisseurs of poetry were wont to do, and the question of their authenticity did not particularly touch him. In so far as they seemed to him worth communicating he quoted them, because they served to embellish the narrative and because the insertion of poems in the prose account was in accordance with the old traditional art of Arabic narrators. In an essay on "Poetical Insertions in the *Sīra*,"¹⁴⁵ I have pointed out that we find such insertions in the accounts of the *ayyām al-'arab* as well as of the Islamic conquests and that there too, as in Ibn Ishāq, *naqā'id* are frequent—i.e. poetical contests in which the representatives of the two hostile, confronting parties recite one against another, and in which the poet who comes second answers his predecessor in the same metre and the same rhyme. We even find in the accounts of the contests between al-Aws and al-Khazraj in the pre-Islamic time the same poets as champions of [181] the opponent clans as later on in the *maghāzī* (Ḥassān ibn Thābit, 'Abd Allāh ibn Rawāḥa). Ibn Ishāq shows an unusual impartiality in the introduction of the poems; he even allows the opponents of the Prophet, by inserting the verses uttered by them, to speak unhindered, and in some cases Ibn Hishām has deemed it necessary to tone down too sharp expressions used by these poets. It deserves also to be emphasised—and this holds good not only for the poems quoted by Ibn Ishāq but also for those preserved in other historians and narrators of the earliest time—that these poems are never, properly speaking, of a narrative nature, though they mostly contain allusions to the events narrated in the prose account. The poems have rather a lyric than an epic character and belong, too, never to the narrator himself, but are put into the mouth of one of the actors in the events, either of the hero himself or a member of his clan, who gives expression to his feelings on the occurrence; into the mouths of women also, above all where lamentation for the dead resounds. Ibn Ishāq was perhaps the first who, for certain events for which he possessed a number of poetical testimonies, put them all together at the end of the section concerned,¹⁴⁶ whereas elsewhere, with him as with other narrators, they interrupt the prose account.

The material in traditions transmitted to him by his teachers, which he enlarged with numerous statements collected by himself, Ibn Ishāq compiled into a well-arranged presentation of the life of the Prophet. Into this pre-

¹⁴⁵ ["Die poetischen Einlagen der *Sīra*," n. 11 n. 31 above.]

¹⁴⁶ E.g. Ibn Hishām, I.1, 516:1-539:17; I.2, 611:16-638:3, 643:11-648:7, 656:2-661:16, 700:11-713:ult, 723:1-725:7, 772:7-773:15, 798:12-801:17, 828:4-833:5, 857:16-869:15, 929:6-932:ult.

sentation he further introduced lists, documents and poems, which likewise he had partly taken over from his masters, partly gathered independently. The compilation and arrangement of this material alone means a considerable work, and if he had precursors in it he still is perhaps the first who not only brought all periods of the lifetime of the Prophet symmetrically into his work, but also widened the biography of the Prophet thus shaped into a history of Revelation in general, in which the life of the former Prophets was also included. So far as the work of arrangement of the material is concerned, the independent labour of Ibn Ishāq consists in this, that he linked the individual reports one to another by short connecting [182] statements of contents,¹⁴⁷ and further in this, that he very frequently—especially in the *maghāzī* in the narrower sense of the word—out of several reports of his authorities, given under their names, constructs a united general statement as his teacher al-Zuhrī had already done in many cases.

However opinion may stand with regard to the trustworthiness of a great part of the statements gathered together by Ibn Ishāq—he himself often expresses his doubt in interjecting remarks such as *fīmā yaz'amūna wa'llāhu a'lam*—as a literary labour his book stands on a remarkably high level, and for us it is all the more valuable since it represents the oldest of all the works of Arabic prose literature preserved to us.

In the *Fihrist* a *Kitāb al-khulafā'* is also ascribed to Ibn Ishāq¹⁴⁸ and in al-Ṭabarī's *Chronicle* Ibn Ishāq is frequently quoted as authority for the events of the time of the Rāshidūn caliphs. Evidently he treated of the conquests in particular, and established their chronology; but he also collected reports concerning the tumult against 'Uthmān; and isolated statements going back to him even concerning events of the time of Mu'āwiya are to be found. The fragments that have been preserved to us are not, however, sufficient to afford us an insight into the plan and scope of Ibn Ishāq's *Kitāb al-khulafā'*.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁷By this the headings of Wüstenfeld's edition of Ibn Hishām are not meant, which are taken neither from Ibn Ishāq nor from Ibn Hishām, but were introduced by later copyists of the text. The statements of contents of which I speak consist rather in the sentences with which Ibn Ishāq is wont to preface the accounts quoted by him.

¹⁴⁸*Fihrist*, 92pu; Yāqūt, *Irshād al-arīb*, VI, 401:9.

¹⁴⁹[For citations of Ibn Ishāq's materials on this subject, see al-Jāhīz, *Al-Bayān wa-l-tabayyin*, I, 380:9–14; al-Fasawī, *Al-Ma'rifa wa-l-ta'rikh*, III, 292pu–293:6, 295:7–15, 296:16–297:4, 300:1–14, 307:3–5, 309:7–10; Abū Zur'a, *Ta'rikh*, I, 191:12–14, 307ult–308:2, 419:6–8; Horovitz/Nasṣār, *Al-Maghāzī al-ūlā*, 160–64; al-Dūrī, *Nash'at 'ilm al-ta'rikh*, 182–86. Cf. also *GAS*, I, 289–90. A papyrus fragment identified by Abbott as coming from this work has been published in her *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri*, I, 80–99; cf. the notes

CHAPTER IV

Maghāzī under the Early 'Abbāsids

[495] WE STILL HAVE TO MENTION a younger contemporary of Ibn Ishāq, of whose *Maghāzī* fragments have been preserved for us in al-Wāqidī, in Ibn Sa'd and elsewhere: Abū Ma'shar,¹ commonly called al-Sindī, from which it would seem that he himself or one of his forebears had come from Sind

and comments thereto in M.J. Kister, "Notes on an Account of the *Shūrā* Appointed by 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb," *JSS* 9 (1964), 320–26.]

¹[SOURCES: Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 309:23–26; Yahyā ibn Ma'īn, *Ta'rikh*, II, 603:11–13; Khalifa ibn Khayyāt, *Ta'rikh*, II, 481:4; *idem*, *Ṭabaqāt*, 274:21; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Al-'Ilal wa-ma'rifat al-rijāl*, IV, 328:18–23; al-Bukhārī, *Al-Ta'rikh al-kabīr*, IV.2, 114:11–13 no. 2397; *idem*, *Al-Ta'rikh al-awsaṭ*, II, 128:11–13 no. 1294; *idem*, *Al-Ta'rikh al-ṣaḡhīr*, II, 172:10–12, 205:5; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif* (ed. 'Ukkāsha), 504:9–12; al-Fasawī, *Al-Ma'rifa wa-l-ta'rikh*, II, 166:5–6; III, 171:9–10, 206:13–14; Abū Zur'a, *Ta'rikh*, I, 581:5–15, 582:1–6; al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, II, 523:9; al-Dūlābī, *Al-Kunā wa-l-asmā'*, II, 120:10–21; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Al-Jarḥ wa-l-ta'dīl*, IV.1, 493pu–495:5 no. 2263; Ibn 'Adī, *Kāmil*, VII, 2516:1–2519ult; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 93:3–5; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta'rikh Baghdad*, XIII, 427:8–431pu no. 7304; *idem*, *Al-Sābiq wa-l-lāḥiq*, 350:1–5 no. 204; Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī l-ta'rikh*, VIII, 62:15–16; al-Yāfī'ī, *Mir'āt al-janān*, I, 359:2–4; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, XXIX, 322:4–331:1 no. 6386; al-Dhahabī, *Mizān al-i'tidāl*, IV, 246:7–248:3 no. 9017; *idem*, *Al-Mughnī fī l-ḍu'afā'*, 694:13–695:2 no. 6600; *idem*, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz*, I, 234:16–235:11 no. 221; *idem*, *Ta'rikh al-islām*, AH 161–70, 554ult–557pu no. 471; *idem*, *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'*, VII, 435:7–440ult no. 165; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, X, 419pu–422:9 no. 758; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-zāhira*, II, 66:5; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, I, 278:18–23.

MODERN STUDIES: Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtschreiber*, 9 no. 33; Sachau, "Einleitung," xxv–xxvii; J. Horovitz, art. "Abū Ma'shar" in *El*¹, I (Leiden, 1913), 100a; *GAL*, SI, 207; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'jam al-mu'allifīn*, XIII, 83a; Jones, "Muqaddima," 28–29; *GAS*, I, 291–92; al-Ziriklī, *Al-A'lām*, VIII, 14a; Donner, *Narratives of Islamic Origins*, 168, 240, 243–44, 305.]

to Arabia. If Abū Nu'aym is right, who states without citing his authority: "Abū Ma'shar was a Sindī and he could not pronounce the Arabic sounds properly; for example he pronounced the name of Muḥammad ibn Ka'b as if it had the sound of Qa'b,"² then we must take it that Abū Ma'shar was born of non-Arab parents; but Sindī could equally well be applied to an Arab settled in Sind, for, since AH 92 Sind had been a province of the Arab caliphate. Abū Ma'shar's grandson, Dāwūd ibn Muḥammad, states that his grandfather sprang from the Yemen,³ from which it is to be supposed, therefore, that Abū Ma'shar's father emigrated from Sind to the Yemen. The same grandson emphasizes the fact that Abū Ma'shar's complexion was white,⁴ while Abū Mushir describes it as black.⁵ Abū Ma'shar himself seems to have derived his descent—perhaps on the mother's side—from the [496] Ḥanzala ibn Mālik sept.⁶ His name, as another grandson of his, al-Ḥusayn, informs us,⁷ was originally 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Walīd, and only after he had been kidnapped and sold as a slave in Medina did his owners, who belonged to the Banū Asad, name him Najīḥ.⁸ What is here described as kidnapping appears in the report of another grandson, the Dāwūd already mentioned, as his capture "in the fight of Yazīd ibn al-Muhallab in al-Yamāma and al-Baḥrayn."⁹ Later on the slave came into the possession of Umm Mūsā bint al-Manṣūr the Ḥimyarite, the bride of the caliph al-Manṣūr and mother of the caliph al-Mahdī,¹⁰ and this new mistress gave him his freedom.¹¹ According to other sources, he had begun to buy himself out of the possession of a woman (by *kitāba*, i.e. paying by instalments at fixed intervals) when Umm Mūsā acquired from the latter the patronage over Abū Ma'shar and then set him free.¹²

²Yāqūt, *Buldān*, III, 166:19–20; also al-Sam'ānī, *Kitāb al-ansāb*, ed. in facsimile by D.S. Margoliouth (Leiden and London, 1912), 313v:27 [ed. 'Abd al-Raḥmān Yaḥyā al-Mu'allimī al-Yamānī *et al.* (Hyderabad, 1382–1402/1962–82), VII, 270:2–3].

³Yāqūt, *Buldān*, III, 166:19–20; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, X, 421:16–17.

⁴[Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, X, 421pu.]

⁵Al-Dhahabī, [*Al-Tahdhīb li-ikhtisār al-tahdhīb*], in Sachau, "Studien," 164.

⁶*Ibid.*, [163].

⁷*Ibid.*

⁸*Ibid.*

⁹Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, X, 421:17–18.

¹⁰Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, III, 423:7–16.

¹¹Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, X, 421:15–16.

¹²*Fihrist*, 93:4–5; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 309:24–25; also [al-Jammā'ī, *Al-Kamāl fī ma'rifat asmā' al-rijāl*], in Sachau, "Studien," 162. According to al-Bukhārī, *Al-Ta'rikh al-ṣaghīr*, [II, 205ult], he was a *mawla* of Umm Salama. [From the wealth of utterly

Thus he had become a client of the 'Abbāsids, and he attached more value to his connection with the ruling house than to his descent from Ḥanzala.¹³ When the caliph al-Mahdī came to Medina on the occasion of the pilgrimage¹⁴ he took Abū Ma'shar, as the latter himself informs us,¹⁵ with him to [497] Baghdad, had him paid 1,000 *dīnārs* and ordered him to stay near him and instruct his entourage in *fiqh*. In the last years before his death a great change came over him and his mind fell into confusion.¹⁶ He died in AH 170¹⁷ at Baghdad, where he was laid in the great cemetery and where Hārūn uttered the funeral prayer over him.¹⁸ The fame of Abū Ma'shar as *muḥaddith* was contested; al-Bukhārī says: "People are of different opinions concerning his *ḥadīth*;"¹⁹ Ibn Sa'd calls him "fertile in *ḥadīth*, but weak;"²⁰ and Ibn Ḥajar quotes a whole row of mostly unfavourable judgments on him.²¹ But as authority for the *maghāzī* he is recognised; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal describes him as *baṣīr fī l-maghāzī* ["perceptive in the *maghāzī*"],²² and [al-Khalīlī] says:²³ "Abū Ma'shar has a place in learning and in chronology. The Imāms quoted his chronology as conclusive; on the other hand they pronounced him unreliable in *ḥadīth*."²⁴

contradictory details on the matter, one might best conclude that the early life of Abū Ma'shar was exceedingly obscure, even among those who knew him.]

¹³[Al-Jammā'ī in Sachau, "Studien," 163.]

¹⁴Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, III, 482:11–18.

¹⁵Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, X, 421:17–19; al-Dhahabī [in Sachau, "Studien," 164].

¹⁶Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, X, 422:7; also al-Dhahabī [in Sachau, "Studien," 164], who quotes al-Sam'ānī, 313v:28–30 [(ed. Hyderabad), VII, 270:5–7].

¹⁷Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 309:25; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif*, 253:4 [(ed. 'Ukkāsha), 504:12]; al-Sam'ānī, 313v:27–28 [(ed. Hyderabad), VII, 270:3–5]; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, X, 421ult. According to *Fihrist*, 93:5, he died in the days of al-Hādī (who died in AH 169).

¹⁸Al-Sam'ānī, 313v:28 [(ed. Hyderabad), VII, 270:4–5]; al-Dhahabī [in Sachau, "Studien," 164].

¹⁹Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Ta'rikh al-ṣaghīr*, [II, 205ult].

²⁰Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 309:25–26: [*kathīr al-ḥadīth ḍa'īf*].

²¹Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, X, 420:9–16.

²²[Al-Jammā'ī in Sachau, "Studien," 162.]

²³[In the published English text: "al-Khatī". The authority mentioned here is probably Abū Yalā al-Khalīlī (d. 446/1054), *qāḍī* of Qazwīn and author of a biographical dictionary of learned men active in the transmission of *ḥadīth*. See Yāqūt, *Irshād al-arīb*, V, 79:10; VI, 135:17–19.]

²⁴Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, X, 422:5–6. [The implication of a statement like this is necessarily that the authority responsible for it thinks that chronology and *ḥadīth* were different endeavours for Abū Ma'shar. To explain the distinction one might propose that Abū Ma'shar was being praised for his chronology, which he deduced for himself and

That Abū Ma'shar wrote a *Kitāb al-maghāzī* is stated in the *Fihrist*,²⁵ and numerous fragments from that work are to be found in the *Kitāb al-maghāzī* of al-Wāqidī, who quotes him particularly in cases where he prefaces to a chapter an *isnād* inclusive of all authorities.²⁶ Also, that Abū Ma'shar's *Maghāzī* dealt with the whole life story of the Prophet we observe from the quotations in Ibn Sa'd's biography of the Prophet; Ibn Sa'd quotes him in the list of his authorities for the *maghāzī* as well as for the biographies of the Companions;²⁷ but also in the sections concerning the Prophet's early years his name [498] occurs both in Ibn Sa'd and al-Ṭabarī.²⁸ Besides the *Maghāzī*, Abū Ma'shar seems to have composed a *Ta'rikh* also, that is to say, an analytical presentation of the events of the Islamic period.²⁹ It reached to the year AH 170, and the latest event quoted from his book by al-Ṭabarī—the death of the caliph al-Hādī—took place in the spring of the year AH 170;³⁰ soon afterwards Abū Ma'shar himself died. While Abū Ma'shar in the *Maghāzī* mostly, if not always, states his authorities, in the *Ta'rikh* he makes no use of *isnād*. As an example of his treatment of historical events in the *Ta'rikh*, the following paragraph preserved in Ibn Sa'd concerning the Umayyad caliph 'Abd al-Malik may serve:

'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān died in Damascus on Thursday, the fifteenth of Shawwāl of the year 86 at the age of 60 years. His reign from the day of the homage till the day of his death lasted 21½ years, of which he spent nine years in fighting 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr. He was acknowledged as caliph in Syria and then, after Muṣ'ab's death, in Iraq, and lived after the death of 'Abd

limited to the period after the life of the Prophet (Donner, *Narratives of Islamic Origins*, 243–44), but was criticized in *ḥadīth*, in which his handling of authorities and conventions of transmission were deemed to be extremely faulty (cf., e.g., Ibn 'Adī, *Kāmil*, VII, 2516:1–2519ult.).

²⁵ *Fihrist*, 93:5.

²⁶ Cf. the passages in Wellhausen's Index [and *Maghāzī* (ed. Jones), III, 1239, listing 46 citations]. In al-Wāqidī/Wellhausen, 321 [= *Maghāzī* (ed. Jones), II, 786:2–6], al-Wāqidī questions him concerning an account communicated by another authority.

²⁷ Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II.1, [1:12; III.1, 1:13–14. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr also quotes him indirectly in his *Istī'āb*; see Jarrar, *Prophetenbiographie*, 148, 164 n. 66.]

²⁸ Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, I, 1195:2.

²⁹ [Both works were known to al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī and were referred to in his *Mash-yakha*; see *GAS*, I, 292. Cf. Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntazam*, IV, 291:4–6; V, 12:3–15.]

³⁰ [Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, III, 579:15–16; as also in al-Fasawī, *Al-Ma'rifa wa-l-ta'rikh*, I, 161:4–5.]

Allāh ibn al-Zubayr, having attained universal recognition, thirteen years, three months and 23 days.³¹

Like Abū Ma'shar, Muḥammad ibn 'Umar [ibn]³² Wāqid also belongs to the group of *mawālī* (freedmen) living in Medina.³³ He bore the surname

³¹ Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 174ult–175:6; = al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, II, 1172:10–17 [with variations from the Ibn Sa'd version translated by Horowitz].

³² [Missing from the published English text.]

³³ [SOURCES: Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 314:19–321:19; VII.2, 77:2–14; Yahyā ibn Ma'in, *Ta'rikh*, II, 532:9–10; Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, *Ta'rikh*, II, 511:5; *idem*, *Ṭabaqāt*, 328pu; Ahmad ibn Hanbal, *Al-'Ilal wa-ma'rifat al-rijāl*, IV, 303:22–24; al-Jāhiz, *Al-Bayān wa-l-tabyīn*, I, 361:3–4; al-Bukhārī, *Al-Ta'rikh al-kabīr*, I.1, 178:15–17 no. 543; *idem*, *Al-Ta'rikh al-awsaṭ*, II, 220:8–10 no. 1485; *idem*, *Al-Ta'rikh al-ṣaghīr*, II, 311:3–4; al-Zubayr ibn Bakkar, *Muwaffaqiyāt*, 122:1–6; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif* (ed. 'Ukkāsha), 518:1–7; al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, II, 538:1; Wakī', *Akhbār al-quḍāt*, III, 270:9–271:16, 326:11; al-Dulābī, *Al-Kunā wa-l-asmā'*, II, 60:1–9; Ibn Abī Ḥatim, *Al-Jarḥ wa-l-ta'dīl*, IV.1, 20:14–21:17 no. 92; al-Azdī, *Ta'rikh al-Mawṣil*, 353:11, 363:6; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, IV, 330:11–331:3 no. 2759; *Aghānī*, XIX, 140:10–13; XXI, 67:1–5; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 98:14–99:11; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta'rikh Baghdād*, III, 3:3–21:1 no. 939; Ibn Ḥamdūn, *Tadhkira*, II, 277:14–278:4 no. 727, 345:4–13 no. 901; III, 101:12–102:3 no. 256; Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh madīnat Dimashq*, LIV, 432:12–471:10 no. 6850; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntazam*, X, 170:1–176:15 no. 1153; Yāqūt, *Irshād al-arīb*, VII, 55:7–58:15 no. 41; Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī l-ta'rikh*, VI, 385:11–12; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, IV, 348:7–351:6 no. 644; al-Yāfi'ī, *Mir'āt al-janān*, II, 36:13–38:9; Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, *'Uyūn al-athar*, I, 17:12–21:17; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, XXVI, 180:3–195:1 no. 5501; al-Dhahabī, *Mizān al-i'tidāl*, III, 662:18–666:6 no. 7993; *idem*, *Tadhkirat al-huffāz*, I, 348:3–9 no. 334; *idem*, *Ta'rikh al-islām*, AH 201–10, 361:1–369:7 no. 347; *idem*, *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'*, IX, 454:2–469:14 no. 172; al-Ṣafādī, *Al-Wafī bi-l-wafayāt*, IV, 238:4–240:2 no. 1767; Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya*, X, 261:7–8; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, IX, 363:6–368:3 no. 604; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-zāhira*, II, 184:1–3; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-I'lān bi-l-tawbikh* (trans. Rosenthal), 394, 448, 510; Ibn al-Imād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, II, 18:1–22.

MODERN STUDIES: al-Wāqidī/Wellhausen, 12–15; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtschreiber*, no. 11–14 no. 43; Josef Horowitz, *De Wāqidii libro qui Kitāb al Maḡāzī inscribitur* (Berlin, 1898), trans. in *SEI*, Chap. 1; Sachau, "Einleitung," xxvii; Sarasin, *Das Bild Alis*, 21–25; J. Horowitz, art. "al-Wāqidī" in *EI*¹, IV (Leiden, 1934), 1104a–1105a; *GAL*, I, 135–36; SI, 207–208; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'jam al-mu'allifin*, XII, 95b–97a; J.M.B. Jones, "Ibn Ishāq and al-Wāqidī," 41–51; Petersen, *Alī and Mu'āwiya*, 82–89; R. Veselý, "La bataille d'Uḥud chez al-Wāqidī," in Stanislaus Segert, ed., *Studia semitica philologica necnon philosophica Joanni Bakoš dicata* (Bratislava, 1965), 251–59; Jones, "Muqaddima," 5–35; *GAS*, I, 294–97; al-Ziriklī, *Al-A'lām*, VI, 311a–b; Michael Cook, *Muhammad* (Oxford, 1983), 63–67; Duri, *Rise of Historical Writing*, 37–39; Patricia Crone, *Meccan Trade and the Rise of Islam* (Oxford, 1987), 223–30; Jarrar, *Prophetenbiographie*, 38–41, 208–209; Lawrence I. Conrad, "The Conquest of Arwād: a Source-Critical Study in the Historiography of the Early Medieval Near East," in Averil Cameron and Lawrence I. Conrad, eds., *The*

al-Wāqidī after his grandfather Wāqid, but as *mawlā* of 'Abd Allāh ibn Burayda, who belonged to the Madanī sept of Banū Aslam, he is called al-Aslamī.³⁴ According to the statement of one of his pupils, Ibn Sa'd, al-Wāqidī was born in Medina in AH 130 under the caliphate of Marwān II,³⁵ and his [499] mother was a great-granddaughter of Sā'ib Khāthir,³⁶ who was the first to compose Arabic poems in Medina and whose father had come from Persia to Medina as a prisoner of war; there was therefore some non-Arab blood in the veins of al-Wāqidī. In his native city al-Wāqidī listened to the discourses of the most renowned exponents of Tradition, and when the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd visited Medina on the pilgrimage—probably in the year 170³⁷—al-Wāqidī was recommended to him as guide to the holy places of the city. Of this we possess a full account from al-Wāqidī himself that his pupil Ibn Sa'd has preserved for us:

[500] When the Prince of Believers [Hārūn al-Rashīd]³⁸ came to Medina on the occasion of the pilgrimage, he said to Yaḥyā ibn Khālīd: "Seek out for me a man who knows Medina and the sacred sites and who knows how the descent of the angel Gabriel took place, from which side he came to the Prophet, and who knows the graves of the martyrs." Yaḥyā made inquiries after such a man, and all directed him to me, whereupon he had me summoned and I came to him after the 'aṣr prayer. He said: "O Shaykh, the Prince of the Believers—Allāh give him might!—wishes you to pray the 'ishā' {prayer} in the mosque and then take us to the sacred sites [so that you may acquaint us

Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East, I: Problems in the Literary Source Material (Papers of the First Workshop on Late Antiquity and Early Islam (Princeton, 1992), 373–84; Khalidi, Arabic Historical Thought, 44–48; Michael Lecker, "The Death of the Prophet Muhammad's Father: Did Wāqidī Invent Some of the Evidence?," ZDMG 145 (1995), 9–27; idem, "Wāqidī's Account," 15–32; Donner, Narratives of Islamic Origins, index; Schoeler, Charakter und Authentizität, 134–42; S. Leder, art. "al-Wāqidī" in EI², XI (Leiden, 2000), 101b–103a.]

³⁴Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, [VII.2], 77:2–3.

³⁵*Ibid.*, V, 321:18–19; VII.2, 77:9.

³⁶*Aghānī*, [VIII, 322:10–11].

³⁷Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, III, 605:1–11. Again in AH 180 Hārūn was on the pilgrimage; *ibid.*, III, 645:16.

³⁸[Missing from the published English text.]

with them],³⁹ and also at the place where Gabriel—on whom be peace!—used to come, and bide thou near." So when I had performed the 'ishā' prayer, I saw tapers already lighted without and two men on two asses. Yaḥyā called out: "Where is this man?," whereupon I presented myself and led them to the dwellings of the mosque and said: "This is the place to which Gabriel used to come." Thereupon they alighted from their donkeys, they performed two *rak'as* of worship, offered prayer to Allāh for a while and rode further, and I went with them, and there was no place and no sacred site to which I did not take them; and they kept worshipping Allāh and striving hard in prayer. So we went on till we came to the mosque when the dawn had risen and the *mu'adhdhin* was calling the *adhān*. And when they reached the castle Yaḥyā ibn Khālīd said to me: "O Shaykh, go not far away." So I said the morning prayer in the mosque. And he was on the point of departure for Mecca. Then Yaḥyā ibn Khālīd gave me leave to enter when the day was fully come and made me sit near him and said to me: "The Prince of Believers—Allāh give him might!—is still weeping, for that which thou hast shown him has much impressed him, and he has ordered 10,000 *dirhams* to be paid to thee." Then and there the whole sum was paid out to me, and he said: "Take it, O Shaykh, and may it bring a blessing to thee. We depart today; nothing, however, hinders thee from seeking us out wherever we may be and wherever our place of residence may be set up, if Allāh will." Thereupon the Prince of [501] Believers travelled further, but I betook myself with all that money to my dwelling. With it we paid a debt that we owed and I married off one of my children and we were in easy circumstances.⁴⁰

The relations that al-Wāqidī thus established with the court⁴¹ he utilised in AH 180, when he happened to be in distress,⁴² and he betook himself to

³⁹[In the published English text: "and let us pause there", erroneously reading *fa-tūqifunā* (Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 315:7) as *fa-tawaqqafanā*.]

⁴⁰Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 314ult–315:21.

⁴¹[On the literary and cultural interests of the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd and his entourage, see 'Abd al-Jabbār Jūmard, *Hārūn al-Rashīd: dirāsa ta'rikhiya ijtīmā'iya siyāsiya* (Beirut, 1376/1956), I, 241–60; II, 321–30.]

⁴²[Elsewhere al-Wāqidī specifies the reason for his difficulty. He was a wheat dealer in

Baghdad and thence to al-Raḡqa,⁴³ where Hārūn held court at that time.⁴⁴ Of this journey to the court of the caliph, also, Ibn Sa'd has preserved for us a detailed and observant account that goes back to al-Wāqidī himself:

When times were hard for us, Umm 'Abd Allāh⁴⁵ said to me: "O Abū 'Abd Allāh, why sittest thou here when the *wazīr* of the Prince of Believers knows thee and bade thee have recourse to him wheresoever he might be." Then I set forth from Medina with the idea that he would [502] be in Iraq; when I there inquired after the Prince of Believers, however, I heard that he was in al-Raḡqa.⁴⁶ Then I wished to return again to Medina, but when I recollected that I lived there in distressed circumstances, I brought myself to the decision of going on to al-Raḡqa and betook myself to the place where riding animals were hired. There I found a number of young soldiers who wanted to go to al-Raḡqa, and they asked me: "O Shaykh, whither wouldst thou?" And I told them my story and that I was bound for al-Raḡqa. Then we considered the hire that the camel-drivers demanded and found that it was too high [503] for us. Then they said: "O Shaykh, art thou willing to repair to the ships, for that would be pleasanter and cheaper for us than to hire camels?" I said: "I know nothing about it; the decision rests with you." Then we betook ourselves to the ships and hired one, and I have never seen anybody more benevolent and kind and thoughtful than they were. [They attended to all my needs]⁴⁷ and provided me with food as a son might do for his father. At last we came to the place where travellers for al-Raḡqa land; but it was very difficult to get through,

Medina, and some local folk had entrusted him with 100,000 *dirhams* to speculate on the grain market; the venture collapsed, however, and the funds were lost. The investors were apparently unsympathetic to al-Wāqidī's plight, and his trip to Iraq was to seek funds to make good these losses. See al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta'rikh Baghdād*, III, 4:12-13. Jones ("Muqaddima," 7) proposes that the real reason for his journey was to meet the Barmakid *wazīr* Yaḥyā ibn Khālīd and thereby to gain patronage and wider scholarly exposure for his work.]

⁴³Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII.2, 77:5.

⁴⁴Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, III, 646:3-5, 16-17.

⁴⁵The wife of al-Wāqidī, whose *kunya* was Abū 'Abd Allāh.

⁴⁶In northern Mesopotamia.

⁴⁷[In the published English text: "They waited for me"; in the Arabic (Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 316:4): *yatakhallafūna min khidmatī*.]

so they wrote their number to their captain and included me in their number. Some days elapsed before the permit came, each was specified [504] by name and I passed with them. Then I went to the place reserved for them at the travellers' inn and spent some days with them, during which I sought some means of approaching Yaḥyā ibn Khālīd, but I found it difficult. Thereupon I went to Abū l-Bakhtārī,⁴⁸ who knew me, and he said to me: "O Abū 'Abd Allāh, you have made a mistake and vain hopes have misled you, nevertheless I will bring your name to his remembrance." After that I went to his door every morning and evening, while my funds grew low, I was ashamed before my companions, my clothes were torn and I gave up [505] hope of help from Abū l-Bakhtārī. Without a word to my companions I set out on the homeward road towards Medina, sometimes on board a boat, sometimes afoot till I reached [al-Saylāḥūn].⁴⁹ While I was resting there in the market there came a caravan from Baghdad of whom I inquired who they were, whereupon they replied that they were folk of Medina and their lord was Bakkār al-Zubayrī, whom the Prince of Believers had sent forth to be judge of Medina. Now al-Zubayrī was the friendliest of men to me, so I said to myself, I will let him alight and take rest, then I will go to him. After he had rested and had finished his breakfast I went to him accordingly and asked leave to enter, which was granted to me. I went in and greeted him, whereupon he asked me: "O Abū 'Abd Allāh, what hast thou done during thine absence?" I related to him how I had fared with Abū l-Bakhtārī, and he said: "Knowest thou not that Abū l-Bakhtārī will not name thy name to any man nor call any man's attention to thee? So what has thou decided?" "To return to Medina." "That is a perverse decision. Thou didst quit Medina in the condition that thou knowest. The right decision is to come with me and I will mention thy business to Yaḥyā." So I rode with his folk till I came to al-Raḡqa, and when we crossed the ferry he said to me: "Thou comest with me?" I said: "No, I go to my companions and I will come to thee to-morrow

⁴⁸I.e. Wahb ibn Wahb, who was at that time a judge; see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, III, 619:9-10.

⁴⁹[In the published English text: "Al-Saylāḥūn". Al-Saylāḥūn was a place near al-Ḥīra in Iraq; see Yāqūt, *Buldān*, III, 218:8-219pu.]

early that, *in shā'a'llāh*, we may go together unto Yaḥyā's gate." Then I burst in on my companions, and it was as if I had fallen from Heaven. They said: "O Abū 'Abd Allāh, what became of thee? We have been anxious about thee." Then I narrated to them what had happened, whereupon they advised me to hold fast to al-Zubayrī. Then they said: "Here thou hast food [506] and drink; for that thou needest take no care." In the morning I went to al-Zubayrī's gate, where I learnt that he had already ridden to the gate of Yaḥyā. Whereupon I also repaired thither. When I had sat waiting for a while, my friend came out and said: "O Abū 'Abd Allāh, I had forgotten thy business, but wait at the gate, I now am going back to him once more." Then he went in, and almost immediately the doorkeeper came to me and bade me enter. I, however, entered in a despicable state. That was on the 26th or 27th of Ramaḍān. When Yaḥyā ibn Khālīd saw me in such a condition I noticed in his countenance the token of distress. He welcomed me and made me sit down near him, while people were present who conversed with him. Then he began to talk to me of one thing after another, but I was in no condition to answer him and kept on proffering things that had no relation to what he asked, and the other people kept on giving back the neatest answers while I kept silent. When the levee came to an end and the people went out, I went out also. A servant of Yaḥyā ibn Khālīd overtook me near the curtain and said: "The *wazīr* orders thee to partake of *iftār*⁵⁰ with him this evening." When I then came back to my companions I related to them what had occurred and said [I was afraid he may have mistaken me for someone else].⁵¹ Then one of them said: "Here are two loaves and a bit of cheese, and here thou hast my beast to ride and a slave to follow thee. If the doorkeeper lets thee in this time, walk in and hand over all that thou hast with thee to the slave. In the other event, betake thyself to a mosque, eat what thou hast with thee, drink of the water of the mosque and then come back." I reached the gate of Yaḥyā ibn Khālīd when the folk had finished the *maghrib* prayer.

⁵⁰[The meal taken after the end of the daytime fasting period during the month of Ramaḍān.]

⁵¹In the published English text: "I was afraid he had found me unworthy"; in the Arabic (Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 317:10-11): *ukhāfa an yakūna ghalīṭa bi*.

When the doorkeeper saw me he said: "O Shaykh, thou comest late. A messenger has more than once been sent out in search of thee." Thereupon I handed the things I carried with me to the slave and ordered him to wait. When I entered, [the room was crowded with people].⁵² I saluted and sat down. Water was then brought for washing. We washed ourselves and I sat next to him. We then partook of the *iftār*, and when the time for '*ishā*' prayer came he led the prayer. After that we took our seats again and Yaḥyā began putting questions to me, but I was unready in my answers, while the others gave him answers with which I did not agree. When the night was spent the folk went out and I went out behind them and lo! a slave followed me and said: "The *wazīr* orders thee to come to-morrow [507] evening before the time thou camest today." And he handed me a purse, containing I knew not what save that it filled me with joy, and I went out to the slave who had accompanied me and I rode and the doorkeeper rode with me till he brought me to my friends, and I went in to them and said: "Get me a lamp," whereupon I opened the purse and found in it *dīnārs*. They said: "What answer did he give thee?" I replied: "The slave conveyed to me his order to come to him earlier than I did yesterday evening." Since I then had counted the *dīnārs* and ascertained that they were 500, one of them said: "I must buy for you a beast to ride," another said: "I must get you a saddle, bridle and the rest of it," a third said: "I must take thought for your bath, the colour of your beard and your perfumery," yet another: "I must buy some clothes for you. Look how people of fashion are dressed!" Thereupon I counted out 100 *dīnārs* and gave them over to their treasurer, and they swore a common oath that they would not [deprive me of]⁵³ a *dīnār* nor yet a *dirham*. In the morning, then, each one set to work to do what he had undertaken to do for me; and when I had performed the *zuhr* (noonday) prayer, I belonged to the number of the best dressed people. I then carried the remainder of the

⁵²[In the published English text: "the company was almost complete", an overly literal rendering of *fa-idhā l-qawmu qad tawāfū* (Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 317:16-17).]

⁵³[In the published English text: "wrong me"; in the Arabic (Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 318:2): *lā yarza'unī*, i.e. his companions will deduct from the funds only what they actually spend, keeping nothing extra for their labours on al-Wāqidī's behalf.]

purse's contents to al-Zubayrī, and when he saw me in this condition, he was much rejoiced, whereupon I related to him what had happened. He then said: "I am bound for Medina," whereupon I answered: "Yes, I have left my family there in the condition that thou knowest." Therewith I handed over to him 200 *dīnārs* that he was to pass on to my family. I left him then, returned to my companions with the contents of the purse, prayed the 'aṣr prayer, made myself as smart as possible and went to the gate of Yaḥyā. When the gatekeeper saw me he rose respectfully and gave me leave, and I entered Yaḥyā's presence. When he saw me in that condition I noticed joy in his countenance. I sat down and began to speak of that of which he had conversed with me, and the answers that I gave to him were different from those of the others. I saw how the company wrinkled their brows. Yaḥyā, however, addressed questions to me about this and that, and I gave my answers while the others kept silence, and none of them said anything. As then it was the time of *maghrib* prayer Yaḥyā went forward and prayed, whereupon the meal was brought in and we dined. Then Yaḥyā led the 'ishā' prayer, and after that we took our seats again and the conversation went on; and Yaḥyā kept addressing questions [508] to one of those present, but he had nothing to say. And when it was time to depart the folk departed and I with them, when behold! the messenger followed me and said: "The *wazīr* orders you to come to him every day at the same time at which you came today." And he handed to me a purse, and I departed, a messenger of the doorkeeper with me, till I came to my companions. I seized a lamp among them and handed over to them the purse, at sight of which they were even more glad than I was, and on the following day I said to them: "Prepare a lodging for me in your neighbourhood and buy a slave-girl and [a boy-slave who can bake bread],⁵⁴ and furniture, and utensils." I had not performed the *zuhr* prayer before they had made everything straight for me, and I asked them to take their *iftār* at my house, which they agreed to do after much pressing. I, however, went to Yaḥyā every evening at the same

⁵⁴[In the published English text: "a boy-slave for me, and one who can bake bread"; in the Arabic (Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 318:21-22): *ghulāman khabbāzan*.]

time, and every time he saw me he seemed gladder than before and presented me every evening with 500 *dīnārs* till *laylat al-ʿīd* came,⁵⁵ when he said to me: "O Abū 'Abd Allāh, make thyself fine to-morrow for the Prince of Believers with the grandest raiment of the judges and sit opposite him so that he will surely ask me concerning thee and I may inform him." In the early morning of *yawm al-ʿīd* I went out dressed in the best of clothes and the folk went out, and the Prince of Believers too went out to the place of prayer, and the Prince of Believers kept regarding me; I, however, remained among his suite. After his departure I went to Yaḥyā's gate, and after the Prince of Believers had entered his palace Yaḥyā came to us and said to me: "O Abū 'Abd Allāh, let us go in." I went in and all the company went in, and he said to me: "O Abū 'Abd Allāh, the *amīr* questioned me concerning thee, whereupon I retailed to him the history of our pilgrimage and that thou wast the man who then accompanied him in the night. He thereupon ordered 30,000 *dirhams* to be paid to thee, which I shall deliver to thee to-morrow, *in shā'a'llāh*." I then returned home, but went to Yaḥyā ibn Khālid on the following day and said: "May Allāh fulfil for the *wazīr* his heart's desire. There is something that I ask the *wazīr*—God give him might!—to grant to me." He said: "What is that?" I said: "Leave to return to my home, for longing for my family and children is heavy upon me!" And he said to me: "Do not so!" But I kept on entreating till he gave me leave. And he had the 30,000 *dirhams* paid out to me, caused a skiff with all accessories to be made ready [509] for me, purchased certain of the rarities of Syria for me to carry with me to Medina and ordered his agent in Iraq to hire riding animals for me till Medina. I was not put to the expense of a *dīnār* nor yet of a *dirham*. Then I went to my friends and told them the news, and I adjured them to take from me what they wanted, but they all swore that they would not take from me a *dīnār* nor yet a *dirham*; and, by Allāh, I have never seen the like of their

⁵⁵[I.e. "the evening of the feast". As the day was considered to begin at sunset, the evening marked the beginning of 'Īd al-fiṭr, the feast commencing on 1 Shawwāl to mark the end of the fasting month of Ramaḍān, celebration of which would begin in earnest on the following day.]

good character, and how can I be blamed for my love of Yaḥyā ibn Khālīd?⁵⁶

These last words show us that al-Wāqīdī told this story to his audience only after the downfall of Yaḥyā (AH 187); before then he had no need to fear being blamed for his love for Yaḥyā.

Elsewhere also al-Wāqīdī remembers Yaḥyā's bounties gratefully; and a further instance of Yaḥyā's readiness to help, likewise preserved by his pupil Ibn Sa'd, is here reproduced, which affords us at the same time a glimpse of the domestic conditions of the time:

[510] 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Ubayd Allāh relates: I was sitting with al-Wāqīdī when Yaḥyā ibn Khālīd ibn Barmak was mentioned, and al-Wāqīdī showed his great compassion for him. And we said to him: "O Abū 'Abd Allāh, why are you so full of sympathy for him?" He answered: "How could I not feel sympathy for a man whose nature I will describe to thee. Less than ten days remained of the month of Sha'bān, yet there was in the house neither meal nor fine [511] flour nor any kind of provision. I picked out in my mind three of my intimate friends and said to myself: I will expose my need to them. Then I went to Umm 'Abd Allāh—she is my wife—and she said: 'What is going to happen to thee, O Abū 'Abd Allāh, since there are no provisions whatever in the house of food or flour or anything else, and now this month is upon us.'⁵⁷ I said: 'I have picked out three from the list of my brethren, to whom I shall expose my need.' 'Are they Medinans or Iraqis?' 'Some Medinan, some Iraqi.' 'Name them to me!' I named the first, whereat she said: 'An important man in easy circumstances, but one who reproaches the recipients of his bounty. I think it wrong that thou shouldst go to him. Name another!' When I named him she said: 'A man of weight and substance, but a miser. I think it wrong that thou shouldst go to him.' I named the third, of whom she said: 'A noble man, there is nothing against him and there is no harm in thy going to him.' So I went to him and sought admission and was admitted

⁵⁶Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 315:21–319:15.

⁵⁷[I.e. the month of Ramaḍān, when one would anticipate the need to entertain evening guests.]

and went in, and he welcomed me and drew me near and said: 'What brings thee, O Abū 'Abd Allāh?' Then I told him of the coming of the sacred month and of our straitened circumstances, whereupon he thought awhile, then said: 'Lift up the fold of the cushion and take that purse and clean it and spend the money; they are *dirhams* stained with kohl.' So I took the purse and went home. And I called a man who did my purchases. While I was dictating to him: 'Ten *qafīz* of fine flour,⁵⁸ one *qafīz* of rice, so much sugar,' [until all the things he needed to buy had been listed. While we were engaged in that]⁵⁹ there came a knock at the door and I said: 'See who is there!' The slave-girl said: 'So-and-so, son of so-and-so, son of ['Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn]⁶⁰ 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib is there;' whereupon I bade her let him in, rose from my seat to pay him honour, welcomed him, made him take seat near me and inquired what brought him.⁶¹ He said: 'O uncle! The coming of the sacred month obliges me to make purchases, and we have nothing in the house. I pondered for a while and then said: 'Lift up the cushion's fold and take the purse and its contents.' Then I said to my friend:⁶² 'Go!', and he went away. And Umm 'Abd Allāh came in and said to me: 'What hast thou done in the affair of that young man?' I said to her: 'I handed over to him the purse with all its contents.' 'Then thou hast acted with God's support and hast done right.' Then I bethought me of a friend whose house was near our dwelling, put on my shoes, went thither, knocked and gained admission. He greeted me with kindness, bade me [512] welcome, drew me near and said: 'What brings thee, O Abū 'Abd Allāh?' Then I told him how the sacred month was nigh and how we found ourselves in straitened circumstances, whereupon he thought awhile, then said: "Lift up the cushion's fold, take the purse; take thou half the contents and give us the other half." And lo and behold! it was

⁵⁸[A *qafīz* was a unit of measure equal in Iraq to about 45 kilograms or 60 liters; see Walther Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte* (Leiden, 1955), 48–49.]

⁵⁹[Missing from the published English text.]

⁶⁰[Missing from the published English text.]

⁶¹[In the Arabic (Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 320:10) al-Wāqīdī addresses his visitor in the first person as: "O scion of the Apostle of God".]

⁶²I.e. to the man who did the purchases.

my own purse, from which I now extracted 500 *dirhams*, while I gave him the other 500. After that I went to my dwelling, called the man who did my purchases and dictated: "Five *qafīz* of fine flour," and so on, and he wrote down all my wishes. Meanwhile there came a knock at the door, and when the servant had opened it she returned and said: "A noble servant," and when she had let him in he handed to me a letter from Yaḥyā ibn Khālīd in which he summoned me to come to him at once. I sent the servant out, dressed myself suitably, mounted my beast and went with the servant to Yaḥyā's palace. When I came in to his presence he was in the courtyard of the house. I greeted him, and he bade me welcome and drew me near and he called out: "Slave, cushion," whereupon I sat down at his side. He said: "O Abū 'Abd Allāh, knowest thou wherefor I have called thee?" "No." "Last night the thought of thy circumstances and the approach of the sacred month kept me awake." I said: "Allāh give health to the *wazīr*! My story is a long one." "The longer the story the more desirable to me." Thereupon I told him what had happened about Umm 'Abd Allāh, and my three brethren: how she repelled the thought of two of them, how the Ṭālibī had come and how my second brother had shared the bag with me. Thereupon he cried: "Boy! Bring writing things!"—and wrote a letter to his treasurer, whereupon there came a bag with 500 *dīnārs*. And Yaḥyā said to me: "Make use of this sum in order to defray the expenses of the coming month." Then he drafted another instruction for his treasurer, on which there came a money purse containing 200 *dīnārs*, and he said: "For Umm 'Abd Allāh, for her prudence and her ready wit." Then he gave two other orders of 200 *dīnārs* each, one for the Ṭālibī, the other for the man who shared the bag with me, and said: "O Abū 'Abd Allāh, go now, in Allāh's keeping." I straightaway mounted my beast, went to my comrade who had shared the bag with me, handed the 200 *dīnārs* to him and told him what Yaḥyā had done, whereat he rejoiced so that he nearly died of it. Then went I to the Ṭālibī, handed him the purse, told him what Yaḥyā had done, [513] and he prayed for him and gave thanks. Then went I to my house, called Umm 'Abd Allāh, handed her the purse, and she too prayed for Yaḥyā and asked Allāh to requite his deed. How

then can I be blamed for love of the Barmakids, and of Yaḥyā in particular?⁶³

In somewhat varying form al-Mas'ūdī,⁶⁴ Yāqūt,⁶⁵ and Ibn Khallikān⁶⁶ tell the same story; according to them it happened in the time of the caliph al-Ma'mūn,⁶⁷ but Ibn Sa'd reproduces the older version that proceeds from al-Wāqidī himself.

According to a statement, the source of which is not communicated,⁶⁸ Hārūn al-Rashīd had charged al-Wāqidī with the office of judge over the east side of Baghdad, and from another report it appears that in AH 187, he was already a judge, therefore, in that case too, under Hārūn.⁶⁹ The oldest biographies know nothing of that and mention only that al-Ma'mūn appointed al-Wāqidī judge of 'Askar al-Mahdī or [al-Ruṣāfa]⁷⁰ (on the east side of Baghdad⁷¹) after his (al-Wāqidī's) entry into Baghdad at the beginning of AH 204.⁷² With al-Ma'mūn he stood on confidential terms, and when he once approached him with a request that he would pay his debts—into which his generosity was always plunging al-Wāqidī—it is related that the [514] caliph wrote on the margin of the petition:

Thou possessest two qualities: generosity and shamefacedness.
Thy generosity looses thy hands so that thou dissipatest thy property; thy shamefacedness, however, causes thee to state only a

⁶³ *Ibid.*, V, 319:15–321:14.

⁶⁴ Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, II, 237:31–238:9 [(ed. Pellat), IV, 330:12–331:2 no. 2759].

⁶⁵ Yāqūt, *Irshād al-arīb*, VII, [57:3–18].

⁶⁶ Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, I, 641:6–20 [(ed. 'Abbās), IV, 349:17–350:10].

⁶⁷ [So also al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta'rikh Baghdad* (Cairo, 1349/1931), III, 19:3–20:13.]

⁶⁸ Yāqūt, *Irshād al-arīb*, VII, 56:12.

⁶⁹ Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, IX, 364:3–4. [On al-Wāqidī as a *qāḍī* see Wakī', *Akhbār al-quḍāt*, III, 270:9–271:16. For a *siyill* in which al-Wāqidī appoints al-Ash'ath ibn Hilāl as *qāḍī* in Jurjān, see al-Sahmī, *Ta'rikh Jurjān* (Hyderabad, 1369/1950), 165:9–166:2 no. 309. At this point al-Wāqidī clearly must have been an extremely powerful official.]

⁷⁰ Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, III, 1037:7. [In the published English text: "Kusafa".]

⁷¹ Yāqūt, *Buldān*, III, 677:5–11.

⁷² Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 314:20–22; VII.2, 77:5–7; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif*, 258pu [(ed. 'Ukkāsha), 518:3–4]; Yāqūt, *Irshād al-arīb*, VII, 56:12–13; al-Sam'ānī, 577v:14 [(ed. Hyderabad), XIII, 271ult–272:1]. Ibn Qutayba does not say, as Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, I, 641:22–23 [(ed. 'Abbās), IV, 350:14–15], implies, that al-Wāqidī was judge on the west side of Baghdad, but only that the judge of the [west side of the city] spoke over him. Cf. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 321:15–16 [in the published English text: "west side of the cemetery"].

portion of thy debts to us. Therefore we have ordered to be paid to thee the double of that thou askest. If in so doing we come short of the amount thou needest, the fault is thine own; if, on the other hand, we have fulfilled thy requirement, then open thy hand still further to beneficence; for the treasures of Allāh are opened and His hand is ever stretched out to the good. Thou thyself, however, didst relate to me at the time when thou wast judge under Hārūn, how the Prophet (Allāh bless and keep him!) said to al-Zubayr: "The keys to life's provision lie before the throne, and Allāh sendeth down to men their provision in proportion to that which they themselves expend. He who giveth much, unto him will much be given; he who giveth little, unto him will little be given."⁷³

Al-Wāqidī, for his part, said when he received the writing: "I myself had forgotten the *ḥadīth*, and that he should call it to my remembrance was to me more wonderful than his gift."⁷⁴

Under the caliphate of al-Ma'mūn, whom al-Wāqidī appointed executor of his will,⁷⁵ he died at the end of AH 207 at the age of 78 years, and was laid to rest in the al-Khayzurān cemetery.⁷⁶

Al-Wāqidī was a zealous collector of the knowledge propagated in his time and had all scripts accessible to him copied. At his death he is said to have left 600 chests of books,⁷⁷ the work of two slaves who copied for him day and night.⁷⁸ Moreover, he had bought books to the value of 2,000 *dīnārs*. These collections formed the basis of his own literary activity, which extended over various fields. The *Fihrist* offers a list of his works consisting of 28 numbers,⁷⁹ and Yāqūt, in *Irshād al-arīb*, gives one [515] agreeing with

⁷³Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, IX, [365:3-4]: *wa-kāna jawādan karīman mashhūran bi-l-sakhā'*.

⁷⁴Yāqūt, *Irshād al-arīb*, VII, 56:15-57:2. [Cf. also al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Muwaffaqīyāt*, 122:1-6.]

⁷⁵Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 321:16-17.

⁷⁶*Ibid.*, V, 321:17-18; VII.2, 77:7-9; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif*, [258ult; (ed. 'Ukkāsha), 518:5]; *Fihrist*, 98:28-29.

⁷⁷*Fihrist*, 98:25-26.

⁷⁸[On this renowned collection see Kurkī 'Awwād, *Khazā'in al-kutub al-qadīma fi l-'Irāq* (Baghdad, 1367/1948), 193.]

⁷⁹*Fihrist*, 98pu-99:11.

it in essentials.⁸⁰ Therein are named:

- a) Works on *fiqh*, the Qur'ān, *ḥadīth*, etc.
 - 1) *Kitāb al-ikhtilāf*.⁸¹
 - 2) *Kitāb ghalaṭ al-ḥadīth*
 - 3) *Kitāb al-sunna wa-l-jamā'a* [*wa-dhamm*] *al-hawā*⁸²
 - 4) *Kitāb dhikr al-Qur'ān*⁸³
 - 5) *Kitāb al-ādāb*
 - 6) *Kitāb al-targhīb fi 'ilm al-Qur'ān*⁸⁴
- b) Works of historical import
 - 7) *Al-Ta'rīkh al-kabīr*
 - 8) *Al-Ta'rīkh wa-l-maghāzī wa-l-ba'th*
 - 9) *Akhbār Makka*
 - 10) *Azwāj al-nabī*
 - 11) *Wafāt al-nabī*
 - 12) *Al-Saqīfa wa-bay'at Abī Bakr*
 - 13) *Sīrat Abī Bakr wa-wafātuhu*
 - 14) *Al-Ridda wa-l-dār*⁸⁵

⁸⁰Yāqūt, *Irshād al-arīb*, VII, 58:3-15. [See also the list in al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfi bi-l-wafayāt*, IV, 239:11-20.]

⁸¹Differences of opinion of the *fuqahā'* of Medina and al-Kūfa concerning the right of pre-emption, the poor-rate, the assignment of property for life, the reversion of property at the owner's death and the other chapters of *fiqh*. The *Fihrist* enumerates still further chapters.

⁸²*Fihrist*, [99:8-9], adds: *wa-tark al-khawārij fi l-fitan*. [The word *wa-dhamm* is missing from the published English text. For *wa-tark al-khawārij* read *wa-tark al-khurūj*, as in al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfi bi-l-wafayāt*, IV, 239pu.]

⁸³[Perhaps more likely is *Kitāb dhikr al-adhān*, as in al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfi bi-l-wafayāt*, IV, 239:16.]

⁸⁴*Fihrist*, [99:6]: *Kitāb al-gharīb fi 'ilm al-Qur'ān wa-ghalaṭ al-rijāl*. [Al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfi bi-l-wafayāt*, IV, 239:16, has *'ilm al-maghāzī* for *'ilm al-Qur'ān*.]

⁸⁵[Brockelmann (*GAL*, SI, 208 no. 5) and Sezgin (*GAS*, I, 295 no. 3) both listed his *Kitāb al-ridda* as extant in a Bankipore manuscript, and Muḥammad Ḥamīd Allāh subsequently published this text under the title *Kitāb al-ridda wa-nubdha min futūḥ al-'Irāq* (Paris, 1409/1989) as a work by al-Wāqidī in the recension of Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī. But two other scholars had already independently noticed that this was nothing more than a section from Ibn A'tham's own *Kitāb al-futūḥ*; see Fred M. Donner, "The Bakr b. Wā'il Tribes and Politics in Northeastern Arabia on the Eve of Islam," *SI* 51 (1980), 16 n. 2; and Miklos Muranyi, "Ein neuer Bericht über die Wahl des ersten Kalifen Abū Bakr," *Arabica* 25 (1978), 233-60. The Bankipore Ms. corresponds to Ibn A'tham, *Kitāb al-futūḥ*, ed. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Mu'īd Khān *et al.* (Hyderabad, 1388-95/1968-75), I, 2:5-96:6.]

- 15) *Al-Sīra*
- 16) *Amr al-ḥabasha wa-l-fīl*
- 17) *Ḥarb al-Aws wa-l-Khazraj*
- 18) *Al-Manākiḥ*⁸⁶
- 19) *Yawm al-jamal*
- 20) *Ṣiffīn*
- 21) *Mawlid al-Ḥasan wa-l-Ḥusayn*
- 22) *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*⁸⁷
- 23) *Futūḥ al-Shām*
- 24) *Futūḥ al-'Irāq*
- 25) *Ḍarb al-danānīr wa-l-darāhim*
- 26) *Marā'ī*⁸⁸ *Quraysh wa-l-anṣār fī l-qaṭā'ī wa-waḍ' 'Umar al-dawāwīn*⁸⁹
- 27) *Al-Ṭabaqāt*
- 28) *Ta'rīkh al-fuqahā'*

[516] In addition to the works named in this list, Ibn Sa'd cites also a *Kitāb tu'am al-nabī* that evidently treated of the incomes assigned to the wives of the Prophet and other persons from the lands of Khaybar;⁹⁰ perhaps it represents only a chapter from the *Marā'ī*, and for that reason is missing in the *Fihrist* and in Yāqūt.⁹¹ Of the historical works two (nos. 16–17, and perhaps no. 9) treat of subjects from the pre-Islamic history of Mecca and

⁸⁶It might equally be a work on matrimonial legal questions, but since Yāqūt includes it among works of a historical character it must have been a historical monograph. [The title rather suggests that it dealt with the wives of the Prophet, and hence that it refers to the same book as title no. 10]

⁸⁷*Fihrist*, [99:1], names also a special *Kitāb maqtal al-Ḥasan*. [I.e. Horovitz suspects that this title may represent a scribal misreading of the name of al-Ḥusayn as al-Ḥasan, since Islamic tradition generally holds that al-Ḥasan was not killed, but died a natural death.]

⁸⁸[This text surely concerned not "pastures" (*marā'ī*), but opposing factional claims to eminence and superiority (*madā'ī*), in this case between the descendants of the Quraysh in Mecca and those of the Anṣār of Medina. The same error appears in Horovitz' article on al-Wāqidi in *EI* ¹, IV, 1104b, and is repeated in *GAS*, I, 296 no. 5; Jones, "Muqaddima," 11. Cf. al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfi bi-l-wafayāt*, IV, 239:17, reading *tadā'ī*, "mutual challenges", probably also a scribal error, but with the same sense as *madā'ī* and preserving the *dāl*.]

⁸⁹The *Fihrist*, [99:5], cites in conclusion [i.e. as the concluding part of this title]: *wa-taṣānīf al-qabā'il wa-marātibihā wa-ansābihā*.

⁹⁰Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 32:19.

⁹¹[It is unclear why a work about the "food of the Prophet" might be a part of a larger work about the grazing lands of the Quraysh and Anṣār (much less, if the emendation in

Medina; four (nos. 8, 10–11, and 15) deal with the history of the Prophet or particular portions thereof; the remaining works, however, deal with excerpts from the history of Islam after the death of the Prophet.⁹² Quotations from several of these works have been preserved for us in various historians,⁹³ and from al-Wāqidi's *Kitāb al-ridda wa-l-dār* we possess numerous extracts in the still unpublished *Kitāb al-ghazawāt* of Ibn Ḥubaysh (d. AH 584),⁹⁴ a work that Leone Caetani, Duke of Sermoneta, has used to great advantage in his *Annali dell'Islam* for the *ridda*—i.e. the revolt of the Arabian tribes after the Prophet's death. This work of al-Wāqidi's, too, was formerly well known in Spain, and is named, e.g., in the *Fahrāsa* of Abū Bakr ibn Khayr (d. AH 575).⁹⁵ There it is called simply *Kitāb al-ridda*,⁹⁶ whereas elsewhere it appears under the title of *Kitāb al-ridda wa-l-dār*. By *dār* is probably meant *yawm al-dār*, a customary expression for the murder of the caliph 'Uthmān. How al-Wāqidi came to treat of the *ridda* of the year AH 11 together with the *yawm al-dār* of the year AH 35 in one book is not clear. Perhaps it is a question of two originally independent works that later were erroneously made into one book;⁹⁷ numerous reports of al-Wāqidi's concerning the mur-

n. 88 above is correct, what it would have to do with the rival claims of these two groups to eminence and special treatment). The extract in Ibn Sa'd has to do with the conquest of Khaybar, which was a *locus classicus* for discussion of licit and illicit foods, distribution of booty consisting of foodstuffs, and so forth. If the *Tu'am al-nabī* was only a part of a larger work, it was probably a chapter in al-Wāqidi's *Sīra*.]

⁹²[Cf. also al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, III, 50:1 no. 1529, referring to a work by al-Wāqidi on the subject of (or entitled) *futūḥ al-amṣār*. This suggests that al-Wāqidi's works on the conquests in Syria and Iraq (nos. 23–24 above) were originally part of one larger work, or that they were brought together subsequently.]

⁹³[It is also possible that al-Wāqidi compiled a work on *qāḍīs*, if one may judge from the numerous citations of al-Wāqidi as an informant in the work on this subject by Wakī'; cf. the latter's *Akhbār al-quḍāt*, I, 112:2, 113:5, 114:10, 116:14, 117:2, 119ult, 132pu, 133:3, 135:1, 139:8, 141:2, 147:17, 176:3, 179:7, 210:5.]

⁹⁴[Cf. now the edition of Suhayl Zakkār (Beirut, 1412/1992).]

⁹⁵Abū Bakr ibn Khayr, *Fahrāsa*, 237:11–15.

⁹⁶[As also in the *Iṣāba* of Ibn Ḥajar, which contains numerous quotations; see *GAS*, I, 295–96.]

⁹⁷Caetani, *Annali dell'Islam*, II.1, 550 §70 (AH 11). [This seems unlikely. Note how the Iraqi compiler Sayf ibn 'Umar (d. ca. 185/801) proceeds similarly when in the same work he deals with both the early conquests and the First Civil War, in this case the Battle of the Camel; for the extant fragments of this text see Sayf ibn 'Umar, *Kitāb al-ridda wa-l-futūḥ wa-Kitāb al-jamal wa-masār 'Ā'isha wa-'Alī*, ed. Qasim al-Samarrai (Leiden, 1995). Cf. also 'Abd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaf*, V, 452:7–466:10, a long account from al-Zuhrī beginning with the raid to Dhāt al-Salāsīl and leading, via summary accounts

der of 'Uthmān are preserved in al-Ṭabarī,⁹⁸ and presumably they are from the *Kitāb al-dār*.

The *Ta'rikh al-kabīr* was evidently a work in which all the important events of Islamic history were enumerated in the form of annals, and reached at least to the year AH 179.⁹⁹ Al-Ṭabarī has preserved for us numerous fragments from the *Ta'rikh* that al-Wāqidī, it would seem, had finished before he settled in Baghdad.¹⁰⁰

Al-Wāqidī's *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt*—next to al-Haytham ibn [517] 'Adī, he is the first to compose such a work¹⁰¹—supplies the basis of the similar work of his pupil Ibn Sa'd, and from the latter it appears that al-Wāqidī dealt above all with the categories of the Companions of the Prophet and those of their descendents living in Medina, with the [traditionists]¹⁰² of al-Kūfa and al-Baṣra, however, no longer systematically.¹⁰³ Al-Wāqidī's *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt* can thus be regarded as a supplement to his other works devoted to the life of the Prophet.¹⁰⁴ Of these, Ibn Sa'd has made use of the books that

of successions and appointments, to the conflict between 'Alī and Mu'āwīya. Clearly the early tradents considered that the First Civil War could be—or had to be—interpreted against the background of past military conflict.]

⁹⁸Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, I, 2941:9–3060:7.

⁹⁹*Ibid.*, III, 639:1–2.

¹⁰⁰[See Petersen, 'Alī and Mu'āwīya, 83, 89, 98, who disputes this and argues that the work reflects too much study and knowledge of Iraqi tradition to have been compiled in Medina.]

¹⁰¹Otto Loth, "Ursprung und Bedeutung der Ṭabaqāt, vornehmlich der des Ibn Sa'd," *ZDMG* 23 (1869), 603.

¹⁰²[Singular in the published English text.]

¹⁰³*Ibid.*, 604, 607 n. 4. In Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 314:17–18, al-Wāqidī gives further the date of death of a traditionist who died in Medina in AH 186. This work also was perhaps completed in Medina and some additions afterwards made in Baghdad.

¹⁰⁴[On the tradition of *ṭabaqāt* and the Islamic biographical dictionary, see Loth, "Ursprung und Bedeutung der Ṭabaqāt," 593–614; Hans Gottschalk, "Abū 'Uḥayr al-Qāsim b. Sallām. Studie zur Geschichte der arabischen Biographie," *Der Islam* 23 (1936), 245–89; Willi Heffening, art. "Ṭabaqāt" in *EI*¹ Supp. (Leiden, 1938), 214a–215b; H.A.R. Gibb, "Islamic Biographical Literature," in Lewis and Holt, eds., *Historians of the Middle East*, 54–58; Murāyī, *Prophetengenossen*, 141–49; Tarif Khalidī, "Islamic Biographical Dictionaries: a Preliminary Assessment," *MW* 63 (1973), 53–65; Baber Johansen, "Biographien als Beitrag zur Historiographie," *Der Islam* 51 (1974), 125–30; Ibrahim Hafsi, "Recherches sur le genre 'Ṭabaqāt' dans la littérature arabe," *Arabica* 23 (1976), 227–65; 24 (1977), 1–41, 150–86; Malaka Abiad, "Origine et développement des dictionnaires biographiques arabes," *BEO* 31 (1979), 7–15; Gerhart Conrad, "Das *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt* des Abū Zur'a al-Dimashqī (281 H.). Anmerkungen zu einem unbekannten frühen riḡāl-Werk," *WO* 19

dealt with the wives of the Prophet and the death of the Prophet also in the corresponding portions of his work, as well as one in which the missives of the Prophet were brought together, which is not named as a separate work and so was probably but a component chapter of the *Sīra*.¹⁰⁵ Elsewhere, also, much of al-Wāqidī's *Sīra*, or of the *Kitāb al-ba'th*, which evidently deals with the time from the Prophet's Mission till the emigration to Medina, has passed on to Ibn Sa'd. Ibn Sa'd quotes al-Wāqidī once or twice as authority for the biblical pre-history, but he (al-Wāqidī) appears not to have considered this in much detail; on the other hand, al-Wāqidī frequently appears as authority of the events of the Meccan period.

Of all al-Wāqidī's writings the *Kitāb al-maghāzī* alone has been preserved to us complete, and as a substantial book. Alfred von Kremer published the first third of the text of this work in the *Bibliotheca Indica* after an incomplete Ms. found by him at Damascus.¹⁰⁶ One other incomplete and one complete manuscript of the whole book are to be found in the British Museum, and the abridged German version that Julius Wellhausen published under the title of *Muhammed in Medina* rests on these Mss. August Fischer is preparing a complete edition of the Arabic text in Leipzig.¹⁰⁷

[518] At the beginning of his *Kitāb al-maghāzī* al-Wāqidī gives a list of his weightiest direct authorities, consisting of 25 names, and his pupil Ibn Sa'd too mentions eleven of these as al-Wāqidī's chief authorities for the *maghāzī*.¹⁰⁸ From this list, which has been commented upon in detail by

(1989), 162–222; George Makdisi, "Ṭabaqāt-Biography: Law and Orthodoxy in Classical Islam," *IS* 32 (1993), 371–96; Wadād al-Qāḍī, "Biographical Dictionaries: Inner Structure and Cultural Significance," in George N. Atiyeh, ed., *The Book in the Islamic World: the Written Word and Communication in the Middle East* (Albany, 1995), 93–122; Chase F. Robinson, "Al-Mu'āfā b. 'Imrān and the Beginnings of the Ṭabaqāt Literature," *JAOS* 116 (1996), 114–20; Michael Cooperson, *Classical Arabic Biography: the Heirs of the Prophet in the Age of al-Ma'mūn* (Cambridge, 2000), esp. 1–23; Claude Gilliot, art. "Ṭabaqāt" in *EI*², X (Leiden, 2000), 7b–10a. A valuable reference guide is Paul Auchterlonie, *Arabic Biographical Dictionaries: a Summary Guide and Bibliography* (Durham, 1987).]

¹⁰⁵Concerning the relation of this section of Ibn Sa'd's work to al-Wāqidī, cf. D.H. Baneth, *Beiträge zur Kritik und zur sprachlichen Verstandnis der Schreiben Muhammads* (Berlin, 1920).

¹⁰⁶*Waqidi's History of Muhammad's Campaigns*, ed. Alfred von Kremer (Calcutta, 1856). Al-Wāqidī's work only extends to 360:18; what follows is derived from a later work. Pages 7:9–9:2 are also not from al-Wāqidī. [Cf. al-Wāqidī/Wellhausen, 5.]

¹⁰⁷Ed. von Kremer, 1:9–2:6. [This edition was never published. The full Arabic text was finally published by Marsden Jones in 1966 (see above, 8 n. 13.)]

¹⁰⁸Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II.1, 1:3–10. The list consisting of six names of al-Wāqidī's author-

Sachau,¹⁰⁹ it appears that al-Wāqidī must have begun to collect his materials early, for some of these direct authorities died only a little after AH 150, at a time when al-Wāqidī was only 25 years old or less. Almost all these authorities are natives of Medina or had come to live there; al-Wāqidī can therefore be considered as representative of the Medina school. The list given at the beginning of the work does not, however, contain the names of all the direct informants quoted by al-Wāqidī, but only those on whom the principal account is based. This is often interrupted by individual reports for which, each time, a special *isnād* is given. The index of transmitters (of Tradition) that Wellhausen has appended to his translation affords a survey of all authorities named by al-Wāqidī, and among such direct or indirect authorities figure chiefly those authors of biographies of the Prophet whom we have already valued: al-Zuhrī, Ma'mar, Abū Ma'shar; also, but more rarely, Mūsā ibn 'Uqba, and Ibn Ishāq never at all. That is all the more remarkable because al-Wāqidī, in a biographical article preserved in al-Ṭabarī, expresses himself concerning Ibn Ishāq with great approval:

He belonged to those learned in the *maghāzī* and the *ayyām al-'arab*, and their stories and genealogies, was a transmitter of their poems, had a comprehensive acquaintance with *ḥadīth*, was rich in knowledge, eagerly intent to collect it, filled a prominent position in the world of science, and was trustworthy withal.¹¹⁰

That al-Wāqidī made use of Ibn Ishāq's work cannot be doubted;¹¹¹ perhaps he has drawn upon it even more than that of any of his forerunners, and

ities for the [deputations] of the Prophet is found in Ibn Sa'd, [I.2, 15:3-12]; that of eight names of his principal authorities for the *Ṭabaqāt*, *ibid.*, III.1, 1:5-13. [In the published English text: "edicts"; in the Arabic (Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I.2, 15:1): *ba'tha*, for which Pickthall has probably translated German "Sendungen" out of context.]

¹⁰⁹Sachau, "Studien," 174-85.

¹¹⁰Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, III, 2512:17-19.

¹¹¹The proofs are to be found in al-Wāqidī/Wellhausen, 12-15; Josef Horowitz, *De Wāqidī libro*, 9-23 (trans. in *SEI*, Chap. 1); [Schoeler, *Charakter und Authentie*, 134-42. The charge that al-Wāqidī "plagiarized" Ibn Ishāq is rejected in Jones, "Ibn Ishāq and al-Wāqidī," 41-51; *idem*, "Muqaddima," 29-30; Michael Lecker, "Wāqidī's Account," 15-32. While the question is undoubtedly an important one, it needs to be pursued with a view to the fact that "plagiarism" did not mean the same thing in the early Islamic Near East that it does now in the modern West. Curiously, Jones ("Ibn Ishāq and al-Wāqidī," 41-51; more explicitly in "Muqaddima," 29) claims that Horowitz here argues that in every place where al-Wāqidī refers to his source by the word *qālū*, "they said," he actually means Ibn Ishāq. As can be seen, however, Horowitz says no such thing.]

possibly that was just the reason why he did not wish to make Ibn Ishāq's share too conspicuous by frequent mention of his name, and contented himself with including him among those anonymous sources of whom he says at the end of his list: "Others besides those [519] mentioned have transmitted reports to me." But, besides Ibn Ishāq, al-Wāqidī made use of all other sources that were anyhow attainable, and offers a great deal that is not to be found in Ibn Ishāq at all, or at any rate that in his work is not supported by the same authorities as in al-Wāqidī's.

The *Kitāb al-maghāzī* is thus much richer in accounts of the events of the Medinan period than the work of Ibn Ishāq, though indeed a part of these accounts belong not properly to historical but rather to juristic *ḥadīth*. In this respect also al-Wāqidī's book stands nearer to the *ḥadīth* collections: that al-Wāqidī simply joins one *ḥadīth* on to another without attempting to unite them by additions or glosses of his own, as Ibn Ishāq does generally. Al-Wāqidī also not unfrequently quotes poems, though these, as a matter of fact, are mostly missing in the Mss. that have come down to us, either because al-Wāqidī himself did not insert them on that occasion or because one of the transmitters of his work left them out. But even if we had all the declared poems, they could hardly amount to the number of those picked up by Ibn Ishāq. Besides the writings of his forerunners,¹¹² al-Wāqidī made use also of original sources, sometimes following the texts quoted by his forerunners, sometimes following originals he had himself examined.¹¹³ In his *Kitāb al-maghāzī* al-Wāqidī records some of the edicts and treaties issued by the Prophet, and the section that Ibn Sa'd devotes to the Prophet's circular letters rests for the most part on the collection of such documents undertaken by al-Wāqidī upon the basis of the labours of his predecessors. Al-Wāqidī follows a fixed plan in his presentment of the *maghāzī*; he begins by giving the chronological dates of the setting out of the expedition from Medina and of its return thither, follows it up with the account of the campaign—in the longer

¹¹²In Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I.1, 39:14-15, al-Wāqidī says: *ḥaddathanī 'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'far al-Zuhrī qāla wajadtu fī kitāb Abī Bakr ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Miswar...*, ["'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'far al-Zuhrī told me: I found in the book of Abū Bakr ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Miswar..."]; *ibid.*, II.2, 69:10-12: *ḥaddathanī Mūsā ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ḥārith al-Taymī qāla wajadtu ḥadhā fī ṣaḥīḥa bi-khaṭṭ abī fihā...*, ["Mūsā ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ḥārith al-Taymī told me: I found this in a *ṣaḥīḥa* in the handwriting of my father, in which it says..."].

¹¹³So says al-Wāqidī in Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, [I.2, 37:20: *qāla Muḥammad ibn 'Amr nasakhtu kitāb ahl adhruḥ fa-idhā fihī...*, ["Muḥammad ibn 'Amr said: I copied out the letter to the people of Adhruḥ, in which it says..."].

sections it is generally one principal account composed of many individual accounts, to which peculiar versions are then added—and at the end there is, in most cases, information concerning the Prophet's *locum tenens* during the time of his absence from Medina, [520] songs, exposition of Qur'ānic verses that contain allusions to the event in question, lists, etc.

The author's "I" occurs only seldom in the work of al-Wāqidī, unless in the *isnād* formula: "So-and-so related to me. . .;" al-Wāqidī is, however, not only a collector and arranger of the first order, of the material transmitted to him by others. In fixing the dates of events he goes far beyond his predecessors, and his chronology is not mere repetition of already accepted data, but the result of independent research.¹¹⁴ Moreover, al-Wāqidī has made his own remarks about the origin of the tradition, and Ibn Sa'd has preserved for us a longer, comprehensive treatise of al-Wāqidī's, in which he states his own opinion without invoking any authority whatever,¹¹⁵ a rare exception in the case of an author who—apart, of course, from the autobiographical details quoted above—hardly ever makes detailed statements without the addition of the accurate *isnād*.

While al-Wāqidī is repudiated by the *muḥaddithūn*,¹¹⁶ he is held a sound authority for the *sīra*, the *maghāzī*, the conquests and *fiqh*.¹¹⁷ But essentially his interest in history begins only with the rise of Islam; unlike Ibn Ishāq, he has given no great attention to the heathen period preceding it, and even less, it would appear, to the history of the pre-Islamic Revelations. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥarbī says expressly: "Al-Wāqidī was the most erudite of men in the region of Islam; but of the Jāhiliya he knew nothing."¹¹⁸

In the *Fihrist* al-Wāqidī is described as a Shī'ī and even as an adherent of the milder regime. An utterance of his is there quoted, according to which 'Alī was one of the miracles of the Prophet, as the rod which changed into a serpent was one of the miracles of Moses and the raising of the dead was among those of Jesus.¹¹⁹ It is, however, noteworthy that al-Wāqidī either does not produce at all, or quotes only in a mitigated form, such

¹¹⁴See al-Wāqidī/Wellhausen, 15; [also the thorough study of J.M.B. Jones, "The Chronology of the *Maghāzī*—a Textual Survey," *BSOAS* 19 (1957), 245–80].

¹¹⁵Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II.2, 126:25–128:16.

¹¹⁶See the judgments in Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, IX, 363:6–368:3; Yāqūt, *Irshād al-arīb*, VII, [56:9–10].

¹¹⁷Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 314:22–23; Yāqūt, *Irshād al-arīb*, VII, [56:11].

¹¹⁸Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, IX, 365:4–5.

¹¹⁹*Fihrist*, 98:20–23.

outspoken partisan [521] statements for 'Alī as we find, for example, in Ibn Ishāq. Similarly, the words of the Prophet to 'Alī, quoted by Ibn Ishāq: "Art thou not glad, O 'Alī, that thou standest to me in the position of Aaron to Moses?" are missing in al-Wāqidī;¹²⁰ as are the words that, according to Ibn Ishāq, the Prophet uttered on the occasion of the *barā'a*.¹²¹ "Only a man from the folk of mine own house shall convey the message."¹²² Such omission or modification of traditions favourable to 'Alī is striking in the case of an author who is described as a Shī'ī, and the explanation is perhaps to be found in the appended statement of the author of the *Fihrist* that al-Wāqidī had applied himself to the *taqīya*,¹²³ that is to say, had not made known his inclination for Shī'ism.¹²⁴ In other places al-Wāqidī shows his impartiality by giving the version favourable to 'Alī as well as that adverse to him; as when he reproduces the report according to which the Prophet died in the lap of 'Ā'isha, as well as that according to which he died in 'Alī's lap.¹²⁵ Moreover, the author of the *Fihrist* is the first and, as it seems, the only author who marks al-Wāqidī as a Shī'ite; even the *kutub al-rijāl* of the Shī'ites do not mention him.¹²⁶

As we have seen, al-Wāqidī rejoiced in the favour of the 'Abbāsīd caliphs, and it is obviously respect for the ruling house that causes him to omit the name of al-'Abbās from the list of the opponents of the Prophet taken prisoners at Badr, and in the catalogue of those who furnished the army of Quraysh with provisions (*muṭ'imūn*) to substitute a *fulān* for al-'Abbās'

¹²⁰Ibn Hishām, I.2, 897:8; cf. al-Wāqidī/Wellhausen, 393 [= *Maghāzī* (ed. Jones), III, 995].

¹²¹[The *barā'a* comprises the first seven verses of Sūrat al-Tawba (9) and enjoins a break in relations between Muslims and pagans. The passage was said to have been read by 'Alī ibn Abi Ṭālib to the Muslims assembled at Minā during the pilgrimage of 9/631. See Nöldeke/Schwally, I, 222.]

¹²²Ibn Hishām, I.2, 921:11; cf. al-Wāqidī/Wellhausen, 416 [= *Maghāzī* (ed. Jones), III, 1077:3–16], and the note to Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II.1, 127 ["Anmerkungen", 38, referring to Horowitz' *De Waqidii libro*, 43–44 (trans. in *SEI*, Chap. 1)].

¹²³*Fihrist*, 98:21.

¹²⁴[Cf. Horowitz' "Taḳijja," *Der Islam* 3 (1912), 63–67, which, though concerning a later period, also makes specific reference to al-Wāqidī.]

¹²⁵Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II.2, [49:7–51:24].

¹²⁶[Cf. Horowitz' further comments in his "Vorwort" to his ed. of Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II.1, vii–viii; also his article on al-Wāqidī in *EI* ¹, IV, 1105a. On the accusations of Shī'ī inclinations levelled against al-Wāqidī, see further Jones, "Muqaddima," 16–18. It is in any case to be noted that legitimist sympathy with the 'Alid house is not to be equated with Shī'ism.]

name.¹²⁷ Similarly, it is to please the ruling house that al-Wāqidī puts in the statement that al-'Abbās stood first in the list of pensions established by 'Umar.¹²⁸

The last of the compilers of a biography of the Prophet to be considered by us here is Muḥammad ibn Sa'd,¹²⁹ known as the secretary of al-Wāqidī (*kātib al-Wāqidī*), whose work has been edited by Eduard Sachau in [522]

¹²⁷ Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-maghāzī*, ed. Kremer, 140:16 [= *Maghāzī* (ed. Jones), I, 145:3]. In an account preserved in Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, IV.1, 6:15–20, al-Wāqidī mentions the capture of al-'Abbās; cf. further Theodor Nöldeke, "Zur tendenziösen Gestaltung der Urgeschichte des Islām's," *ZDMG* 52 (1898), 21–27.

¹²⁸ Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, IV.1, 21:8–11. Cf. Caetani, *Annali dell'Islam*, [IV, 387, 388, 411] §§264, 266, 341 (AH 20).

¹²⁹ [SOURCES: Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII.2, 99:10–16; Muṣ'ab al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, 23:4–6; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Al-Jarḥ wa-l-ta'dīl*, III.2, 262:6–8 no. 1433; al-Azdī, *Ta'rikh al-Mawṣil*, 412ult; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 99:12–15; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta'rikh Baghdād*, V, 321:9–322:14; *idem*, *Al-Sābiq wa-l-lāhiq*, 65:5–8; Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh madīnat Dimashq*, LIII, 62pu–66:11 no. 6380; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntazam*, XI, 161ult–162:4 no. 1339; Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī l-ta'rikh*, VII, 18:5–6; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, IV, 351:7–352:6 no. 645; al-Yāfi'ī, *Mir'āt al-janān*, II, 100:18–19; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, XXV, 255ult–258pu no. 5237; al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān al-i'tidāl*, III, 560:17–22 no. 7588; *idem*, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, II, 425:1–15 no. 431; *idem*, *Ta'rikh al-islām*, AH 221–30, 355ult–357:5 no. 365; *idem*, *Siyar al-'ālam al-nubalā'*, X, 664:2–667:1 no. 242; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wafī bi-l-wafayāt*, III, 88:9–17 no. 1009; Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya*, X, 303:13–14; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, IX, 182:8–183:10 no. 273; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-zāhira*, II, 258pu; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-I'lān bi-l-tawbikh* (trans. Rosenthal), 392, 394, 406, 448, 515, 519; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, II, 69:7–10.

MODERN STUDIES: Otto Loth, *Das Classenbuch des Ibn Sa'd. Einleitende Untersuchungen über Authentie und Inhalt* (Leipzig, 1869); *idem*, "Ursprung und Bedeutung der Ṭabaqāt," 593–614; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtschreiber*, 17 no. 53; Julius Wellhausen, "Ibn Sa'd, die Schreiben Muhammads und die Gesandtschaften an ihn," in his *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, IV, 85–194 (German), 1–78 (Arabic text); Walter M. Patton, *Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal and the Miḥna* (Leiden, 1897), 64; Sachau, "Einleitung," xxx–xl; K.V. Zetterstéen, "Ibn Sa'd ock hans arbete Kitāb et-Ṭabaqāt el-kebīr," *MO* 1 (1906), 66–76; Sarasin, *Das Bild Alis*, 25–29; Friedrich Schulthess, "Zu Ibn Sa'd's Biographien," *ZDMG* 70 (1916), 403–16; E. Mittwoch, art. "Ibn Sa'd" in *EI*¹, II (Leiden, 1927), 413b–414a; *GAL*, I, 136–37; *SI*, 208; K.V. Zetterstéen, "Ibn Saad V mit dem Codex Constantinopolitanus Šehīd 'Alī Paša 1905 verglichen," *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, 17 (1933), 790–820; Petersen, *Alī and Mu'āwiya*, 90–91; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'jam al-mu'allifīn*, X, 21b–22a; *GAS*, I, 300–301; J.W. Fück, art. "Ibn Sa'd" in *EI*², III (Leiden, 1971), 922a–923a; al-Zirikī, *Al-A'lām*, VI, 136c–137a; 'Izz al-Dīn 'Umar Mūsā, *Ibn Sa'd wa-Ṭabaqātuhi* (Beirut, 1987); Jarrar, *Prophetenbiographie*, 87–88; Khalidī, *Arabic Historical Thought*, 44–48.]

conjunction with a number of collaborators,¹³⁰ and on whom Otto Loth composed a monograph in 1869.¹³¹

Muḥammad ibn Sa'd ibn Manī' was born at al-Baṣra in AH 168¹³² and later sojourned, among other places, in Medina, where we find him in the year AH 189.¹³³ When he is described as a *mawlā* of al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Ubayd Allāh ibn al-'Abbās,¹³⁴ that does not mean that he himself, but that his grandfather, and possibly also his father, stood in that relation to al-Ḥusayn; for the latter had died in AH 140 or 141.¹³⁵ That Ibn Sa'd himself no longer maintained any kind of relations whatsoever with that branch of the 'Abbāsīd house is clear from Ibn Sa'd's own statement that that branch had died out with al-Ḥusayn.¹³⁶ In some sources Ibn Sa'd bears the *nisba* of al-Zuhrī,¹³⁷ from which it is to be supposed that he himself, or his father before him, had affiliated himself to the Zuhra, a subdivision of Quraysh. In Baghdad he entered into close relations with al-Wāqidī and, as the author of the *Fihrist* says, founded his books very substantially upon the writings of al-Wāqidī.¹³⁸

Of the writings of Ibn Sa'd, the compiler of the *Fihrist* cites only the *Kitāb akhbār al-nabī*, and this biography of the Prophet alone seems to have been edited by Ibn Sa'd in the form in which it was afterwards current and communicated to his pupils for further transmission; while the *Ṭabaqāt* were first preserved in their current form by al-Ḥusayn ibn Fahm (AH 211–89). Both works were afterwards, by Ibn Ma'rūf, about AH 300, united in one book,¹³⁹ of which the Prophet's biography forms the first part. The *Akhbār al-nabī*—volumes I.1–2 and 2:1–2 in the Berlin edition—have an introductory section dealing with the history of the former prophets, to which is appended the [523] history of the ancestors of Muḥammad. Then follows the presentment

¹³⁰ See above, 4 n. 8. [It is worth stressing that the manuscript tradition available to Sachau and his collaborators did not allow for the publication of a complete text. See, for example, Helmut Ritter, "Die Lücken in Ibn Sa'd," *Der Islam* 18 (1929), 196–99.]

¹³¹ Loth, *Classenbuch*. [A more current assessment is Mūsā, *Ibn Sa'd wa-Ṭabaqātuhi*.]

¹³² Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII.2, 99:12–13.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, V, 314:7–8.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, VII.2, 99:11–12. Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, [312:13–14], mentions him as *mawlā* of the Banū Ḥāshim.

¹³⁵ Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, II, 342:5.

¹³⁶ Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 231:17.

¹³⁷ Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, I, [641pu (ed. 'Abbās), IV, 351:9].

¹³⁸ *Fihrist*, 99:13–14.

¹³⁹ Loth, *Classenbuch*, 25–34.

of the story of Muḥammad's childhood and of the following years up to his Mission, in which two sections on the tokens of Muḥammad's prophethood before and after the first Revelation find a place. Then come the events from his first standing forth as a Prophet till the *hijra*. The second part of the first volume treats of the Medina period, more especially in detail of the Prophet's edicts, the embassies of the Arabs, the Prophet's personal characteristics, mode of life and belongings. The first part of the second volume is devoted to the Prophet's campaigns, therefore to the *maghāzī* in the stricter sense of the word; the second part of the second volume sets forth the conclusion of the personal biography of the Prophet in detailed sections concerning the Prophet's illness, death, burial and heritage, as well as a collection of elegies composed for him. What then follows in this volume—accounts concerning the most eminent legal experts in Medina—properly forms the introduction to the *Ṭabaqāt* and has nothing more to do with the actual biography of the Prophet, of which the conclusion is expressly indicated by the words *ākhir khabar al-nabī* that stand before the beginning of this appendix.

Ibn Sa'd is—since we possess only the *Maghāzī* of al-Wāqidī as a self-contained work—the earliest author, after Ibn Ishāq, from which a complete biography of the Prophet has come down to us. In some places Ibn Sa'd gives much fuller details than Ibn Ishāq, as, for instance, in the sections concerning the qualities and habits of the Prophet, concerning his missives and embassies, concerning his illness and death; while other matters, which occupy much space in Ibn Ishāq, he leaves quite unnoticed, such as the pre-Islamic past of Arabia in so far as it has no concern with the Prophet's immediate ancestors. Ibn Sa'd has a turn for the systematic arrangement of material, and he seems to be the first to place the *'alamāt al-nubūwa* together, a practice in which later works on the *dalā'il al-nubūwa* follow him; just as his section on the *ṣifat akhlāq rasūl Allāh* is the precursor of the later *shamā'il* literature.¹⁴⁰

The *akhbār al-nabī* of Ibn Sa'd are based for the most part on the materials collected by his teacher, al-Wāqidī. For the biblical pre-history, indeed, he quotes him only very seldom,¹⁴¹ his chief authority for that being Hishām [524] ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Sā'ib al-Kalbī. In the history of the Meccan period of the Prophet's life, however, al-Wāqidī is his chief authority though his narratives are often enlarged by Ibn Sa'd with reports for which he is

¹⁴⁰Nöldeke/Schwally, II, 135; [Kister, "Sīra Literature"].

¹⁴¹Ibn Sa'd, I.1, 21:5–7, 22:19–25.

indebted to other sources. Similarly, al-Wāqidī is the chief authority in the sections concerned with the Prophet's Medina activities, his statements being here too supplemented by those of other experts. On the other hand, in the sections on the qualities of the Prophet's character, and his habits, al-Wāqidī is quite left behind, being only rarely mentioned. Ibn Sa'd prefaces his accounts of the actual *maghāzī* with a comprehensive list of his most important sponsors,¹⁴² and in it names al-Wāqidī as his immediate and direct authority; Ru'aym ibn Yazīd, who handed on to him the traditions of Ibn Ishāq; Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad, who transmitted to him those of Abū Ma'shar; and Ismā'il ibn 'Abd Allāh, who conveyed to him those of Mūsā ibn 'Uqba. Ibn Sa'd had therefore access to the works of his weightiest forerunners, and on them his account of the actual campaigns is principally founded, though, as a comparison with the text of al-Wāqidī's *Maghāzī* shows, Ibn Sa'd relies above all upon al-Wāqidī, and in a much less measure upon Ibn Ishāq, Abū Ma'shar and Mūsā ibn 'Uqba. For each of these campaigns Ibn Sa'd provides a principal account that stands without any indication of origin, since the authorities have been given once for all at the beginning of the *Maghāzī*; he then amplifies this principal account by means of individual reports, which for several *maghāzī* are very numerous and are each introduced with a special *isnād*. Thus, as regards the *maghāzī*, Ibn Sa'd stands to al-Wāqidī in a relation similar to that in which al-Wāqidī stood to Ibn Ishāq. Whereas, however, al-Wāqidī never mentions Ibn Ishāq, Ibn Sa'd makes no secret of the fact that the work of al-Wāqidī is the foundation of his own work. We have also to acknowledge an advance, in the sense of the unity of the presentment, in the fact that Ibn Sa'd never interrupts his principal account or main narrative with the addenda collected by himself, as al-Wāqidī does, but places this additional material at the end of the main narrative in every case. In one particular Ibn Sa'd systematically supplemented al-Wāqidī's statements, since for each campaign, he answers the questions: Whom did the Prophet, during his absence from Medina, leave behind as governor there, and who carried the flag? Al-Wāqidī too, indeed, had already paid attention to these [525] questions, but had not answered them in every case. Ibn Sa'd took great pains over the collection of reports concerning the last illness and death of the Prophet; al-Wāqidī appears mostly as his authority here also; Ibn Sa'd has obviously made use of al-Wāqidī's *Kitāb wafāt al-nabī*, but he has very greatly amplified it.

¹⁴²*Ibid.*, II.1, 1:3–2:1.

Ibn Sa'd hardly ever in his work comes forward with a personal observation and, except certain statements connected with his plot, hardly any statement is without an indication of the source from which it is derived. Besides such accounts as he borrowed from his predecessors, he gives the full text of numerous original documents, and the number of poems he has taken, especially elegies, is by no means small; but in this respect he is far behind al-Wāqidī and not to be mentioned in the same breath with Ibn Ishāq. Ibn Sa'd also prefaces the *ṭabaqāt* proper, which begin with volume III of Sachau's edition, with a list of his principal authorities. There again appear, besides al-Wāqidī, Ibn Ishāq, Abū Ma'shar and Mūsā ibn 'Uqba, whose statements he received, however, through the intermediary of their indirect or immediate pupils. Further he names in this place as his authorities the Medinan Ma'n ibn 'Īsā (d. AH 198), the Kūfan al-Faḍl ibn Dukayn (d. AH 219), and the Kūfan Hishām ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Sā'ib al-Kalbī (d. AH 204), whose father Muḥammad was the most renowned expert in genealogy. For the genealogy of the Anṣār, however, Ibn Sa'd appeals mostly to another authority, 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Umāra al-Anṣārī,¹⁴³ the author of a *Kitāb nasab al-anṣār*, perhaps identical with the 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Umāra ibn al-Qaddāh mentioned in al-Dhahabī's *Mizān*,¹⁴⁴ of whom, however, nothing further is known.¹⁴⁵

The *Ṭabaqāt* form a weighty supplement to the biography of the Prophet in so far as they refer to the Companions (*aṣḥāb*) of the Prophet, the men and the women—the eighth volume of the work is devoted to these latter—who had a part in the Prophet's public or domestic life, or who came forward as transmitters of *ḥadīth*. To the biographies of the Comrades (*aṣḥāb*) are appended those of the *tābi'ūn*, who, however, have themselves no [526] longer any personal connection with the Prophet's biography. I shall here go into no further particulars concerning the *ṭabaqāt*, but their peculiar genre has been dealt with by Otto Loth not only in the monograph above-named but also in the essay: "Ursprung und Bedeutung der *Ṭabaqāt*," in which he discusses the relationship of the *Ṭabaqāt* of Ibn Sa'd to those of al-Wāqidī.¹⁴⁶ More

¹⁴³Cf. Sachau, "Einleitung," xxvii; Josef Horowitz in the introduction to Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III.2, v–vii; Sachau, "Studien," 185–88; M.J. de Goeje in *ZDMG* [59 (1905)], 379; Hermann Reckendorf in *OLZ* 26 (1923), 351–52.

¹⁴⁴[Al-Dhahabī, *Mizān al-i'tidāl*, II, 489:5–7 no. 4545.]

¹⁴⁵[These details do indeed refer to the same compiler, on whom a useful account is now available in *GAS*, I, 268.]

¹⁴⁶Loth, "Ursprung und Bedeutung der *Ṭabaqāt*," 593–614.

recently E. Sachau, in the introduction to volume III.1 of his edition, has still more closely expounded the methods followed by Ibn Sa'd in the *Ṭabaqāt*.¹⁴⁷

In the historical compilations of the period that followed—in those of al-Ṭabarī, of al-Mas'ūdī, of al-Ya'qūbī among others—the biography of the Prophet forms but a section in the exposition of world history, and only authors of later centuries again devoted monographs to it,¹⁴⁸ such as al-Ḥalabī (d. AH 1044) and Ibn Sayyid al-Nās (d. AH 734), in whose works the authors of the oldest biographies, who form the subject of the present essays, are again frequently mentioned.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁷[Sachau, "Einleitung," xxx–xl.]

¹⁴⁸[But cf. Ibn Ḥazm, *Jawāmi' al-sīra*, ed. Iḥsān 'Abbās and Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Asad (Cairo, 1955); Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Durar*. Both of these works (on which see Jarrar, *Prophetenbiographie*, 150–57, 169–73) were written within a century of the time of al-Mas'ūdī. Cf. also, for example, the extensive chapters on *sīra* topics in al-Ḥākim al-Nisābūrī, *Mustadrak*, II, 591:1–III, 63ult (i.e. within a few generations of al-Mas'ūdī).]

¹⁴⁹[The importance of these later works is stressed in Conrad, "Muḥammad," 543; Kister, "Sīra Literature".]

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JESHO = *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*.

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In the arrangement adopted here, the Arabic definite article (*al-*), the transcription symbols for the Arabic letters *hamza* (') and *'ayn* ('), and distinctions between different letters transliterated by the same Latin characters (e.g. d and ḍ), are ignored for purposes of alphabetization.

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